

Yugoslavia in mourning as Tito loses his last battle

President Josip Broz Tito, communist ruler of Yugoslavia for 35 years, and gravely ill since January, died yesterday afternoon in the clinical centre at Ljubljana where his left leg was amputated on January 20. He would have been 88 on

May 25. The news was given on television to the people of Yugoslavia with the brief announcement: "Comrade Tito is dead." Flags were put at half mast and crowds gathered but there were no visible signs of an emergency.

President dies after 35 years in power

From Dassa Trevisan
Belgrade, May 4

"Comrade Tito is dead". The announcement, read out in a grave haunting voice over Yugoslav radio and television, echoed tonight on the streets of Belgrade where people were returning as on any other weekend. This time, however, for a brief moment everything stopped.

People got out of their cars and seemed not to believe what they heard, although the President, who would have been 88 on May 25, had been gravely ill since January.

After the announcement all radio and television programmes were cancelled. Solemn music was broadcast, interspersed with the phrase "Comrade Tito is dead".

A former partisan with a distinguished military career went on the streets. "I feel as if a part of myself and of the whole country has gone now with Tito," he said.

Flags were put at half mast and crowds began to gather in the city squares. There are no signs of emergency security measures. It all seems calm and dignified in this first hour without Tito who ruled Yugoslavia for 35 years.

President Tito died soon after 3 pm. A medical bulletin, obviously prepared by the nation, had just announced that his heart was continuing to weaken. Only yesterday the doctors in Ljubljana had stated that the President's condition, though extremely grave, was slightly improving.

The Presidency of States, the eight-man body which is to succeed President Tito as the helm of the state, and the Praesidium of the League of Communists, the 24-member executive which is to take over party policy, issued a proclamation.

Deep grief and profound sorrow has struck the people of Yugoslavia and every citizen of this country. President Tito has served his entire human life as a fighter for the country and his loss is felt by every man, soldier, peasant, young or old, throughout Yugoslavia and beyond.

In death, just as throughout the long years of his reign, Tito rendered a service to the nation. His death came in slow motion over several months, and this gave his successors time to

The father figure
Leading article
Obituary

work out future policies and console the people. For the Yugoslavs, who had regarded him as a permanent feature of their nation; it allowed time to overcome the psychological shock of his departure. Nevertheless every Yugoslav today feels a personal, family loss.

Tito was spared the humiliation of crippling immobility that would have tarnished the image he cultivated to the very end. Away from public eye he was dying, but the last picture of him showed his legendary robustness.

For the Yugoslavs, Tito has been the father figure. He made them feel proud to be Yugoslavs. He gave his country a place in the world that far outstripped its size or economic importance. He proved to his countrymen that in times of external peril, or domestic trouble they could rely on him.

He led Yugoslavia through thick and thin for almost 40 years, and at all difficult stages he was indispensable. His charisma was in his courage and defiance, just as it was in his simplicity, in his ability to speak the language people understood, in his realism, in never losing touch with the people during the 35 years he ruled. He became a legend in the war. His regal style of life, and zest for living were legendary. He loved diamonds and expensive things. He loved hunting. His Havana cigars and whisky will always be associated with his memory.

He was equally at home with monarchs and with the rough war-time comrades whom he used to meet at anniversaries commemorating his battle against the Germans in the Second World War. He started as a Communist outlaw, and, in the true tradition of Serbian nineteenth-century dynasties, created his own legitimacy by leading a resistance. He ended an internationally recognized elder statesman whose personal prestige and authority no one could match.

He gave his country legal institutions which remain. He spent 14 years working out a system of succession to ensure



President Tito: Dying since mid-February but his heart held out.

that no group or individual would assume dominance over the rest. "Many abroad," he said 10 years ago, "have been saying that Yugoslavia will fall apart when I go. Even here, at home, there has been much speculation about who might take my place. I myself felt that this could lead to a very difficult crisis and therefore decided that the only way out was in a collective leadership".

Asked whether a statesman could leave something lasting on his death, Tito replied: "People never forget positive accomplishments of their former leaders. So, if he has achieved something of value which those who follow can improve and build upon, he can regard himself a happy man." Tito always had a sense of history. In his lifetime, he did his utmost to make sure that he would be survived by the stable and independent Yugoslavia, which he often said, he regarded as his principal achievement. Therefore, independence and the unity of

Yugoslavia's many nations, were his chief preoccupation in later years. He worked ceaselessly to establish a workable relationship with Russia but he remained fully aware that, given a chance, Moscow would seize upon it. So he never tired of warning the Yugoslavs that their strength and guarantee against any external peril lay in themselves and in preserving national unity.

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Gunmen free fifth embassy hostage

By Stewart Tondler, Nicholas Timmins and John Witherow.

The gunmen in the Iranian Embassy siege in London last night released a fifth hostage. He was a middle-aged man who staggered out of the embassy, with his hands behind his head. Policemen helped him to a building near by.

He was then taken by ambulance for medical attention.

The release came at the end of a day during which Arab diplomats had gone to the Foreign Office after a demand by the gunmen that they should become mediators between them and the British Government.

Two other hostages were freed over the weekend by the gunmen representing "the group of the Martyr". The police believe up to 20 people are still being held.

The exact reason for the new demand was not given in a long statement issued on Saturday by the gunmen, but from the wording it was clear that the terrorists wanted them to negotiate their demand, made six days ago, for a flight out of Britain.

The statement asked for the ambassadors of Algeria, Jordan and Iraq, and a representative of the International Red Cross. The gunmen picked envoys from Libya, Kuwait and Syria as alternatives.

There was no talk about negotiations with Iran over the freeing of 31 prisoners the gunmen have demanded. The statement said the ambassadors should start their jobs in negotiating between us and the British Government to secure the safety of the hostages as well as the group members and to terminate the whole operation peacefully.

Yesterday afternoon Mr Douglas Hurd, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, saw the ambassadors from Kuwait and Syria and the Jordanian chargé d'affaires. Discussions were described as a useful exchange of views.

It was understood that Iraq would not be asked to take part: there had been considerable speculation that Iraq might have helped to engineer the attack on the embassy.

The diplomatic developments meant that an immediate end to the siege was not likely. The Foreign Office are likely to be followed by exchanges between the diplomats and their governments, which may then lead to further talks at the Foreign Office.

In their statement the gunmen apologized for the inconvenience caused by the siege but gave warning that no one should try to force them to leave.

Saturday saw the release of Mrs Haj Deah Kaaji, who is three months' pregnant and works at the embassy as a secretary, and Mr Ghanzamar Gull, a Pakistani.

Mr Christopher Cramer, the BBC producer released last week, was home from hospital after treatment and was said to be in good health.

The weekend saw continued police optimism, and last night Deputy Assistant Commissioner John Bell, in charge of operations, said the release of the hostages was a result of negotiations.

Attack warning: Mr Sadeq Oqobadeh, the Iranian Foreign Minister, yesterday repeated a warning that thousands of Iranian students in London might storm their besieged embassy (Tony Allaway writes from Tehran).

In a message intended for the captive Iranian staff in the embassy, Mr Oqobadeh said: "If necessary, and if you want, tens of thousands of Iranians are ready to enter the embassy unarmed, shouting 'God is great' and punish these criminal mercenaries of the Iraqi Ba'ath regime".

Police exercises and camera siege, page 2

MacGregor choice hostility appalling, Prime Minister says

By George Clark
Political Correspondent

Self-confident and as assertive as ever, Mrs Margaret Thatcher completed her first year as Prime Minister yesterday by roundly condemning the appointment of Mr Ian MacGregor as chairman of the British Steel Corporation on terms that could involve the payment of a "transfer fee" of £1,800,000.

"I am appalled," she said, "what sort of country is it which says we can pay enormous sums for footballers, but not to get the best person here to Britain to get a steel industry which is in trouble thriving and flourishing again?"

Interviewed at Chequers on the BBC radio programme, *The World This Weekend*, Mrs Thatcher got worked up when she was asked if she had been surprised by the hostility shown in the House of Commons.

At one point she spoke as if it were her own decision, saying "what did I need, what could I have done", then correcting herself to say "what could Sir Keith Joseph have done?" when faced by the difficulties of an industry that for two years had been losing £1m a day.

He could have had just another ordinary chairman, not an extraordinary one, and gone on as before. But the Government decided to go for the best and she did not think the critics had their priorities right.

"Everyone recognizes that Mr MacGregor is one of the outstanding industrialists in the world," the Prime Minister said. "Everyone recognizes that his record is superb, that he has taken business and built them up, he has created employment, he has expanded them."

"Then everyone says to us that we have got to have a period of open government, where you are going to be frank... We really have a big problem in the steel industry. The British taxpayer has poured £3,000m or £4,000m investment in that industry, yet for two years it has been losing £1m a day."

The Government could have gone for an ordinary chairman or said that there was a future for the steel industry and it needed the best person to run it. Mr MacGregor was the man, a Scot who had taken all

Britain's talent and ability in the United States and created successful businesses there.

"Give Sir Keith Joseph this: he laid the whole position before the House of Commons. And do you know what we criticized for now? It is not Mr MacGregor. Everyone says he is a super guy. No, we are being criticized for the presentation."

"All right. Let them start giving us credit for thinking positively... thinking which sees a future for the British steel industry better than it can envisage at the moment." Nuff said.

Asked what she thought might have been her biggest mistake in the first year of office, Mrs Thatcher said she thought it would have been better had the Government cut public expenditure more firmly, and faster, at the beginning and not in two stages. "We could then have got interest rates down faster."

What of her greatest success? Mrs Thatcher told Mr Gordon Clough, her interviewer, that it was to have brought about a change which meant that Britain again counted for something in the world. People abroad realized that Britain was a big place and doing things, as it had done in Zim-babwe, and was doing economically at home.

"It is going now to be British," she said, "and that is a tremendous achievement."

Mrs Thatcher was scathing in her criticism of the EEC agricultural policy, under which Britain and West Germany were paying other countries for the production of food surpluses which were then sold at subsidized cheaper prices to other countries, including the Soviet Union. "It is not in the long run a sane policy; it is ridiculous."

On the EEC budget crisis, she said: "We got a long way towards solving it, but I could not just have a temporary solution. To get a longer-term solution will take a bit longer. In the meantime, I said we could not have less than three years, and we would like five. Let us have a period free from arguing with Britain about money."

Mrs Thatcher's most serious reflections were on the need to resist the Soviet Union's expansionist policy, though she did not think that if Russia

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Grenade kills two in Zimbabwe township

From Frederick Cleary
Salisbury, May 4

A man and a woman were killed and 15 people injured when a grenade was thrown into a beer hall in the Salisbury township of Glen Norah last night. Two of the injured are in a serious condition in Harare hospital.

The reason for the attack is not known but it follows numerous politically motivated incidents in Salisbury's black suburbs since independence.

A rash of strikes returned to Zimbabwe at the weekend disrupting the coal mining and sugar industries. About 11,000 black workers were involved. Worst hit were the Hippo Valley sugar estates owned by

the Anglo American Corporation where about 8,000 workers walked out on Friday.

Miners at the Anglo American mine at Wankie were said to be demanding \$2 (£1.48) an hour pay increase. A Government spokesman at Wankie said that the strikers—between 2,000 and 3,000—would be dismissed if they did not return to work by Monday.

Mr David Smith, the Minister of Commerce and Industry flew to Nairobi today where he will be joined by Dr Bernard Chidzero, the Minister of Economic Planning for economic talks with member countries of the London Convention to which Zimbabwe has applied for membership.



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Nine die as crowds rush to see the Pope

Kinshasa, May 4.—At least nine people were trampled to death by a crowd heading for a Mass celebrated by the Pope, hospital officials said. At least 69 people were injured.

Sister Gertrud Kosecka, a Polish nun who saw the accident, said people were knocked down when the gates of a central square in Kinshasa were opened at 6 a.m. and the crowd surged forward.

When the Mass began two hours later there were no indications that the tragedy had occurred. The Pope proceeded with the consecration of nine African bishops.

Later, a live of the people killed or injured was pinned on a wall at the hospital where they had been taken.

The Pope, who arrived in Zaire on Friday at the start of his African tour, was expected to visit the injured later today. The state radio station, The Voice of Zaire, said 1,500,000 Zairians attended the mass. "People just swept in," Sister Gertrud said from her bed at the Ndaliema clinic. She received chest injuries in the rush.

The dead and most of the injured were taken to Mama Yemo hospital. Seven of the dead were women and two were children, three and four months old, officials said.

The Pope used African languages during the Mass which was conducted under a ratched canopy to the accompaniment of tribal drums. The crowd roared its approval. The service was held on the white concrete steps of the People's Palace which was finished a year ago by Chinese aid workers. For much of the Mass, which lasted almost five hours, the Pope sat stiffly on an ebony throne under a bamboo hood.

President Mobutu, wearing a leopard skin hat, sat with his wife, about 15 yards from the Pope. They married on Thursday in a Roman Catholic ceremony in what was viewed as a gesture of reconciliation between church and state.

The Pope delivered a homily in French, emphasizing the important role that bishops play in civil and religious life.

The Pope was apparently unaware of the deaths and injuries that occurred, which were announced long after the Mass was over—Reuters, AP, UPI.

Commons recess
The House of Commons will adjourn for the Whitsun recess on May 23 until June 2.

Mr Muskie joins Iran talks at Camp David

Washington, May 4.—Senator Edmund Muskie, yet to be confirmed by the Senate as Secretary of State, joined President Carter and his foreign policy aides at Camp David today to discuss new efforts to free the American hostages in Iran.

Senator Muskie was named by Mr Carter to replace Mr Cyrus Vance, who resigned in protest over the abortive rescue mission in which eight American servicemen were accidentally killed.

Administration officials said on Friday that they hoped Senator Muskie could be approved by the Senate in time for him to meet Mr Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, in Vienna on May 16.

Mr Vance and Mr Gromyko had been scheduled to be in Vienna to attend the twenty-fifth anniversary ceremony to mark the end of the allied occupation of Austria after the Second World War.

No opposition to Mr Muskie's appointment has been voiced and the Maine Democrat could be confirmed within a few days of a confirmation hearing by the Senate foreign relations committee on Wednesday.

Also attending the Camp David meeting were Mr Zbigniew Brzezinski, the national security adviser, Mr Warren Christopher, the acting Secretary of State, and Mr Harold Brown, the Secretary of Defence.

Soviet doubts: The Soviet Union expressed strong doubts that Senator Muskie would bring any change to what it describes as the policy of aggression and drive for world domination being pursued by the United States.

Carter invitation: The possibility that President Carter will visit Britain before he goes to the western economic summit meeting in Venice on June 22 is being discussed in the talks taking place between Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, and Muskie members of the Administration in Washington. (Our Political Staff writes.)

There was no confirmation at 10 Downing Street yesterday that Mr Carter had accepted the invitation. Lord Carrington is expected to see the President tomorrow for talks on Iran, Afghanistan and the Palestinian question. He will tell Mr Carter of the support expressed by the EEC leaders at the last summit meeting in Luxembourg for economic sanctions against Iran.

When Mrs Thatcher visited Washington last December she gave an open invitation to Mr Carter to visit Britain.

Hebron revenge raid prevented by Army

From Moshe Brilliant
Tel Aviv, May 4

The Israeli Army today cordoned off the Jewish suburb of Kiryat Arba in Hebron to prevent militants from making a revenge raid on the main town where five Jews were murdered by Arab gunmen on Friday.

Last night, militants from Kiryat Arba infiltrated Hebron and smashed windows of cars and homes before soldiers apprehended them. The measures so far taken by the Israeli authorities have not satisfied settlers of the Gush Emunim movements who have threatened to take the law into their own hands.

In an attempt to stem growing Arab violence, the military Government in the occupied West Bank this weekend banished two Palestinian Arab mayors and a Muslim judge.

Mr Fakh Kawasma, mayor of Hebron and Mr Muhammad Milhem of Halhoul, together with Sheikh Rajab Tamini, the Qadi of Hebron, were flown in an Israeli Air Force helicopter to the Lebanese frontier yesterday morning.

Military government officials told the press that the three were agitators, responsible for the "atmosphere" which led to the murders.

The victims, all inhabitants of

Kiryat Arba, were ambushed outside a former clinic where Jewish families have been squatting for more than a year—the only Jews to live in the ancestral city since a pogrom in 1929.

The group was about to pay a weekly visit to the families on their way home from Sabbath eve services in the tomb of the Hebrew patriarchs. In addition to the five dead, 17 persons were injured during a four-minute barrage of sub-machine-gun bullets and grenades.

In a further example of the new "get tough" policy, the Israeli yesterday blew-up two buildings containing shops near the old clinic. The Military Government claimed that the killers had attacked from positions on the roofs as the victims strolled by below.

Brigadier Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, the military Governor for the West Bank, told journalists yesterday that the terrorists must have reconnoitred the area very carefully and the occupants must have suspected what was planned.

The tents were given several hours to remove their belongings.

Additional buildings in the cashan near the clinic were also seized.

Photograph, page 4

Bush challenge kept alive by Texas vote

President Carter and Mr Ronald Reagan both lost some ground to their nearest opponents for the presidential nomination in the Texas primaries. Mr Reagan won only 5 per cent more of the vote than Mr George Bush. Mr Carter beat Senator Edward Kennedy by a smaller margin than had been predicted. Page 5

£5,000 gift defended

Mr Mostyn Evans, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union, defended his executive's decision to send £5,000 to the *Morning Star*. It was one of the few papers with a "sympathetic approach" to trade unions' difficulties, he said. Page 2

Praise from Pope

The Pope's messages to the Roman Catholic Church's national pastoral congress added to the delegates' optimistic mood, and his praise for the "shared responsibility" was seen as unequivocal encouragement to their methods of deciding priorities in policy. Page 2

Union action halts two newspapers

Industrial action by members of the National Graphical Association stopped publication of the *Sunday Mirror* and of *The Times* on Saturday. The action was in support of a pay claim by their colleagues employed on provincial newspapers and in general printing. Page 2

Disquiet over private jobs for civil servants

The Commons Select Committee on the Treasury and Civil Service may shortly demand the right to conduct public hearings on individual cases of senior civil servants taking business appointments in the private sector. That suggestion has been made by a Conservative MP. Page 3

Sweden disrupted

Swedish car-owners began storing petrol in containers as the labour dispute threatened to immobilize all transport. Much of the country's industry has already been brought to a halt by lock-outs and strikes. Employer-union negotiations resume today. Page 4

Olympic appeal

The leaders of 18 European national Olympic committees, meeting in Rome, have called for the whole world to support the Olympic movement and send competitors to Moscow for the summer games. Page 4

US missiles backed

Mr William Rodgers, Opposition spokesman on defence, highlighted the split between the Shadow Cabinet and the Labour national executive by calling for American nuclear missiles to be stationed in the United Kingdom. Page 2

Tories attacked: Three leading Labour Party figures attacked the Tory Government's policies and record in May Day speeches. Page 2

Afghanistan: Kabul blames street riots on Washington and Peking. Page 5
Washington: Lord Carrington gives America pledge of allied support. Page 4

Mr Day's TV worries

Mr Robin Day, the television personality, expressed some of his worries about the way the medium works, especially in its presentation of news and current affairs, in Bernard Levin's BBC 2 interview series. Page 3

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WEST EUROPE

Swedes hoard petrol as labour dispute shuts down industry

From Roger Choate, Stockholm, May 4

Sweden was threatened today with a strike of oil-tanker drivers, which could bring the nation to a halt. Widespread labour stoppages and lock-outs began on Friday, have already stopped much industrial production.

Over the weekend car owners began filling containers with petrol after a union threat to halt oil deliveries next Friday. Bread, milk and fresh fruit were already in short supply due to transport stoppages and hoarding.

Almost one million workers representing one quarter of the labour force have been made idle since national wage negotiations broke down last week. On Friday evening employers closed the doors of 750,000 blue-collar workers, while the unions countered with selective strikes involving at least 100,000 workers.

The stoppages came more than a week of overtime bans and blockades which halted domestic and inter-

national air travel, affected mass transport, closed some schools and created hardship in hospitals.

The Swedish Broadcasting Corporation stopped almost all radio and television programmes except for newscasts, and overseas telephone operations ceased work.

Some restaurants and hotels closed down for lack of staff. Notices of intention to strike were served by bus drivers, cinema operators, and staff in the bingo halls.

Some of the most serious widening conflicts seemed to be the result of the centralized nature of the Swedish economy. Paralysis in one sector automatically affected other sectors.

An international conference due to take place in Stockholm this month to explain the famous Swedish system of labour harmony was called off last week.

Both sides plan to meet tomorrow with mediators to resume talks. However, employers said the lock-out would continue until May 12.

Ecology groups unite to contest presidency

From Our Own Correspondent, Paris, May 4

The many different French ecological groups have been holding their first joint conference over the weekend in Lyons and the signs are it will lead to the creation of a unified movement to put up joint candidates in elections—much as the Green Party does in West Germany. The first step has been to agree to field one candidate in next year's presidential election.

French ecologists have not made much impression in elections here since their moderate successes in percentage terms in the 1977 local government poll. Last year, however, they

did see the election of their first regional councillor while another candidate nearly won a seat in the area round the nuclear reprocessing plant at La Hague in Normandy.

The disparate nature of the movement and its many different objectives have so far acted against it at the polls. This conference, attended by 300 delegates from all over the country, has apparently succeeded in drawing together many of the different threads.

The most important decision has been to exclude any possibility of an alliance with any of the main political parties. The movement's uneasy flirtation with the left in the past has threatened to divide it.

M Chirac says Britain is dishonest

From Our Own Correspondent, Paris, May 4

M Jacques Chirac, the Gaullist leader, said today that "faced with a partner as dishonest as Great Britain" the eight other EEC countries must show a greater firmness.

Britain must be prepared to accept the rules or leave the Community, he said. The success of its must show the same firmness and the same intransigence as Mrs Thatcher.

Britons drown in pool

Palma, May 4. A British holidaymaker and his nine-year-old daughter drowned in the swimming pool of their hotel in Alcudia, Mallorca. Mr Geoffrey Lindley, aged 34, and his daughter Katherine, from Leeds, were found yesterday

France reaffirms faith in nuclear submarine force

From Our Own Correspondent, Paris, May 4

The last of the nuclear submarine force ordered by General de Gaulle in 1968, the 8,000-ton Tonant, was launched yesterday at Cherbourg. It is also to be the last of its class, which is the first generation of French nuclear submarines conceived specifically for the defence of France's desire for an independent nuclear deterrent.

M Yvon Bourges, the Minister of Defence, said at the launching ceremony, however, that a third generation of nuclear submarines was to be produced for service by the year 2000 and he underlined the essential role of the submarine fleet in making the independent deterrent credible.

Although France has a nuclear missile base in Provence

and a nuclear strike force they are to continue in a merely complementary role to the submarine fleet.

The Tonant, with four of its five sister ships, is to be equipped in due course with the multiple warhead M4 missiles, as is the second generation of nuclear submarines which will begin to make its appearance from 1985, when the first of a new class, the Inflexible, is due to be launched. This class will have a larger range and will be able to operate more quietly and at greater depths.

The announcement of the determination to press ahead with the third generation proves that France is prepared to continue paying the high cost of keeping its own nuclear deterrent into the foreseeable future.

same time the cost of reducing engine noise is pretty well agreed to be about 1 per cent of the cost of the engine.

The cost of this preventing the effects of noise before it happens is much better understood than the cost of preventing the noise reaching the ears of people and of repairing the damage caused by noise.

A pilot study in Holland—where the most complete set of anti-noise regulations is in force—has shown one startling fact, however. It costs 10 times as much to minimize noise created by industry with soundproofing measures round the machinery than it costs to soundproof the housing likely to be affected by industrial noise.

Aircraft noise will also come under scrutiny at the conference, although in Europe and Japan 20 times more people suffer from motor vehicle noise.

In addition the OECD has already been encouraged by the success of reducing noise, while airport controls and taxes are also having a quietening effect.

The economic factors are certain to loom large in the deliberations at the conference. Nevertheless those taking part will be made well aware that only draconian measures over the next few years will make it possible for the menacing tide of noise to be turned if the next century really is to begin on a quieter note.

Conference aims to coordinate measures to curb noise Too many decibels for comfort

From Ian Murray, Paris, May 1

One noisy motor cyclist roaring across the back of your head at night can disturb the sleep of 300,000 people. This rough calculation by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) gives some idea of the scale and the difficulty of noise pollution, which will be the centre of an international conference here this month.

The OECD is organizing the conference, which is to be attended by senior ministers and small town mayors from the 24 member nations. Its aim is to try to harmonize measures which will make the world a quieter place to live in by the year 2000.

The internal combustion engine is the chief culprit when it comes to noise in the modern world, and in consequence a bulk of the measures under discussion are expected to lead to a wider range of controls on the motor industry. By the turn of the century the aim is to have reduced the unacceptable noise levels in the world by four fifths.

OECD research shows that 100 million of the 730 million people in member countries have to live in an environment where there is an unacceptable level of noise—that is to say, where it is necessary to raise the voice in order to conduct a conversation or turn up the radio and television loudly in order to hear it.

French legal system faces big changes

From Our Own Correspondent, Paris, May 4

There has been a mixed reception in French legal circles for the new law to speed up and strengthen the judicial system, which the Government intends to put before Parliament during the present session.

The proposed law, which was approved by the Cabinet meeting, was drafted without any consultation with the various legal bodies. It is therefore viewed with some suspicion by both the Bench and the lawyers, especially as it would mean a radical change of procedures.

The main change is to deprive the prosecution of the right to have suspects held in prison

during an investigation. Some cases take up to four years to come to trial and about 45 per cent of the French prison population are awaiting trial.

In future a remand in custody will have to be approved by an independent judge, and moves to bring the case to court will have to be made over the next two months if the accused is not to be freed automatically.

Mr Alain Peyrefitte, the Minister of Justice, said that the new procedure owed much to the concept of habeas corpus.

Other provisions of the law with a similar inspiration were to ensure a foreigner could not be held for more than 48 hours without a judge's permission, and restricting to the president

of a tribunal the right to order the detention of people in psychiatric hospitals.

A further measure would cancel the provision whereby people can be held for up to 10 years beyond the expiry of their sentence.

On the other hand the new law intends to make sure that criminals are treated more severely. Crimes of violence will carry stiffer penalties. Suspended sentences will become rarer, as will remissions, and both will have to be earned and will not be accorded as of right.

The law envisages tidying up the present range of sentences for different offences to remove uncertainty over convictions.

OVERSEAS

Authority of President Tito was sufficient to cope with all Yugoslav dissension

Continued from page 1

Yugoslavs succeed in resolving this contradiction, enabling the party to reflect pluralistic ideas within its ranks. Yugoslavia will become the first communist state to prove that there is a way out of the vicious circle.

President Tito's authority was sufficient to cope with dissension. But no one can ever hope to attain such authority now, nor would he be allowed to.

The collective leadership, which Tito set up, reflects national equality and proportionate representation, thus keeping a careful balance for the future. This is not to say that Yugoslavia lacks competing politicians who enjoy varying degrees of respect. They do not possess Tito's charisma, but they are able and they have been occupying political posts for a number of years.

There is the 68-year-old Dr Vladimir Bakarić, whose 40 years of friendship with Tito

and almost as many in Tito's top political councils, make him the most authoritative personality in the leadership. He is the man of compromise and moderation, but also a strong advocate of reform and devolution. He sits in the presidencies of both state and party, and is chairman of the Council for the Defence of the Constitution occupies a position of the utmost importance.

Then there is Mr Milos Minic, a lawyer from Serbia, who in the Presidency of the party is Yugoslavia's chief foreign policy strategist. He is the man who works out Yugoslavia's policy vis-à-vis Russia. He wants to strike a workable relationship, but he believes that Yugoslavia must show the same toughness to any pressure as it did under Tito in the past.

There is also Mr Stane Dolanc, a 54-year-old Slovene who, during eight years as party secretary, proved a most effi-

cient and effective executive. He now has the task of working out Yugoslavia's political system, and of making it work. Another outstanding figure is General Nikola Lubjetic, Minister of Defence for 11 years, who now sits in the party Presidium as the Army representative. Several others over the past two months have gradually been taking over various tasks and operating as a committee to continue Tito's lifetime work.

A statement from 10 Downing Street said: "The Prime Minister has learned with deep regret of the death of President Tito, a great statesman and leader of his people, who created modern Yugoslavia and ensured its lasting independence. He was Britain's staunch ally in war, and our countries became warm friends in peace."

The statement added that Mrs Thatcher had sent a message of condolence to the Yugoslav

Prime Minister. A spokesman said Mrs Thatcher expected to attend the funeral.

Mr James Callaghan, Leader of the Opposition, said President Tito was Yugoslavia's greatest son. "The world has lost an outstanding leader. He was a great soldier-statesman who led his fellow countrymen in peace and in war for 40 years. During his lifetime he secured the independence of Yugoslavia against all enemies and threats, and at the same time he successfully strengthened the internal unity of the Yugoslav people."

Mr David Steel, the Liberal leader, said: "This is the end, not just of a life, but of an era. I believe it is a happy release for President Tito himself, but of course I send my condolences to his family and colleagues." Mr Steel said he would be attending the funeral. Moscow television saluted President Tito.

West Europe groups call for full support of Moscow Olympics

Rome, May 4. A call for all countries to take part in the Moscow Olympic Games came today from the national Olympic committees of 18 European nations meeting here.

In a surprise display of unanimity, the committees, including those of all nine EEC states, issued a statement saying "participation is even more important in a period of tension and international conflicts. We appeal to the Olympic committees of all the countries in the world to take part."

They issued an eight-point formula devised by the French delegation, calling for countries to refrain from using their national flags or anthems, to abandon the traditional opening parade of teams and to confine their activities to purely sporting events.

Athletes' clothes should display only the badge of their national Olympic committee and all ceremonies should use only the Olympic flag and hymn.

Sir Denis Follows, president of Britain's Olympic committee, said the point of today's meeting was to show that participating in the Moscow Games did not imply support for the Soviet Union.

The West German Government has asked its national committee to boycott the Moscow Games, since the United States, China and 15 other countries have already decided to do so in protest against Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

But Herr Willi Daume, the committee president, refused to say whether his support for today's joint appeal indicated that his committee would defy the Government.

Sir Denis said the meeting contained far more consensus than controversy. "We were all agreed that you should go to the Games in an organization that by standing on the sidelines shouting abuse," he said.

Speaking of the proposals about flags and anthems, Sir Denis said if they were accepted, Soviet spectators would see at least 18 teams at the opening parade represented by just a placard and an Olympic flag.

Support from swimmers: The International Amateur Swimming Federation today announced it would support federations to take part in the Moscow Games.

Singapore boycott: Singapore has decided to boycott the Games, a Government announcement said today and the Singapore National Olympic Council said it would abide by the decision. Reuters and AP.

Praise for 1936 boycott: A glossy Soviet Olympic souvenir book just published here praises the attempt in 1936 to organize boycotts of the summer and winter Olympic games in Nazi Germany. It criticizes the International Olympic Committee for not reversing its decision to hold the summer games in Berlin in spite of powerful protests by "progressive" athletes (Michael Binyon writes from Moscow).

The book clearly contradicts present Soviet assertions that politics should have nothing to do with Olympic competitions and its publication has embarrassed Soviet sports authorities.

Prepared last year before the movement to boycott the Moscow Games got under way, the English language edition from Athens to Moscow was not placed in any of the foreign currency markets where it was intended to be sold but instead went on sale this weekend in ordinary Russian bookshops.

The 270-page colour history of the Olympics, prepared by the Soviet Institute of Physical Culture and Sport, says the world protested the revolution and indignation at the holding of the games.

America says Cuba helped to avert boat disaster

Key West, Florida, May 4

Cuba, acting on information provided by the United States, has taken measures which may have averted a disaster, American consulars said.

Cuban officials in Mariel, port of embarkation for about 10,000 Cubans who have already reached the United States, warned of a severe storm in the Florida Strait.

The Cubans replied that six to 12 boats had already left Mariel, but that "certain assurances" were given. The coastguard took this to mean that other boats were prevented from leaving until the danger had passed.

A disused Second World War hangar at the naval air station in Key West has been brought into use as an extra centre for Cuban refugees.

In the huge hangar about

1,000 Cubans who arrived on Friday, told journalists of their complaints about President Castro's government.

Many of them had been in the Peruvian Embassy. So far only about 370, out of the 3,000 boats that went to take part in the boatlift, have returned to Key West.

The State Department estimates the number of Cuban refugees who have arrived in the United States since April 23 at 9,735.

A wave of anti-Cuban sentiment is growing in Florida as the thousands of refugees arrive.

An increasing number of people are objecting to the tide of emigrants.

Havana fighting: Cuba has blamed the United States for fighting between supporters and opponents of the Cuban Government outside the American diplomatic compound in Havana on Friday. About 15 people were injured in the fighting.

Women the GIs left behind them plead for chance to emigrate

From Michael Bayre, Reuters Correspondent, Ho Chi Minh City, May 4

Hundreds of Vietnamese women with children they say were fathered by Americans want desperately to leave this country where they claim they are discriminated against by the authorities.

Some of the women have sent a petition to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and the United States Government pleading to be allowed to settle in America.

Two of the women's representatives said they were unsure of the number of Ho Chi Minh City formerly Saigon, with children by American fathers, but they believed it was about 2,000. The petition and accompanying letters named more than 200 women with a total of more than 450 children.

At the height of what the Government here calls "the American war", the United States had more than 500,000 troops in the country supporting the former South Vietnamese Government and a large number of civilians. It is not known how many children they left behind.

The two representatives, and several other women claiming children by American fathers, said they were afraid of being sent talking to Westerners.

One of the two women said she had four children named John, Lee, Gary and Jack, by an American soldier killed in action. Another said she had two children of her own and was looking after two more who had been abandoned. The women claimed their children were not allowed to go to school.

The mothers also claimed that neither they nor their children were entitled to ration cards that would enable them to buy food at government shops at cheap prices.

This meant they had to buy food on the open market, where the price of rice is 10 times higher than in government shops.

They said they were refused jobs and had to make their living as best they could as street vendors in the so-called "free markets".

In one of the letters that accompanied the petition, one woman, who supports herself and her son by selling vegetables, said they lived in a



The sister of an Israeli soldier, who died in Friday's attack in Hebron, weeps at his funeral.

US expels Libyan diplomats

From Patrick Brogan, Washington, May 4

The United States has expelled six Libyan diplomats, four on Friday and two on April 17, and has recalled the last of its diplomats from Tripoli.

Two exiles have been murdered in London and two in Rome. The Americans fear that further assassinations might be carried out in the United States.

The diplomats have been expelled for "unacceptable activities", including harassment of American students at American universities. The four are members of the committee of five which controls the Libyan Embassy.

Colonel Gaddafi incited students to take over the embassy in a moment of enthusiasm for "People's socialism", last September. The most direct threats of murder were uttered last week.

The American Embassy in Tripoli was sacked by a mob last December.

The United States then withdrew most of its staff. A further reduction left only two men, who were recalled at the end of last month. The United States has not broken diplomatic relations with Libya, and continues to obtain 10 per cent of its oil imports from Libya.

Ruling party in Greece prepares to choose leader

From Mario Modiano, Athens, May 4

A change of scene is certain in Greek politics in the next two weeks if Parliament, as expected tomorrow, elects Mr Constantine Karamanlis, Prime Minister, to be President of Greece.

Mr Karamanlis's first move will be to disassociate himself from the New Democracy Party, which he leads as Minister. Within 48 hours of the election he intends to resign the leadership and his New Democracy seat in Parliament.

The Karamanlis Government, however, will carry on as an interim administration until the new Cabinet takes charge some time next week.

Immediately after that, President Tsatzos, whose term expires in late June, proposes to submit his resignation to cut short unnecessary, even embarrassing delays, and make way for Mr Karamanlis to assume his presidential duties.

The new leader of the New Democracy party will be elected by the parliamentary group

Carrington pledge to US of allied support

From Patrick Brogan, Washington, May 4

Lord Carrington is in Washington to meet the new Secretary of State, Senator Edmund Muskie, and to reassure Americans that their all support them fully against Afghanistan and Iran.

He was interviewed on television this morning and said that efforts must be made to overcome the suspicion America that the allies do support the United States, the idea in Europe that it are not consulted by the Americans.

There continues to be strong feeling here that allies are dragging their feet over sanctions against Iran. A speech here last night, Jody Powell, the British Secretary of State, said that

expressed American gratitude to France for banning export of Chanel No 5 to Iran.

The Foreign Secretary asked about European support and insisted to reply that Europeans had done everything they had been asked to do. He pointed out that the economic sanctions, which Europe was the process of introducing, would hurt them much more than the sanctions the United States has introduced over the past six months.

He cited the \$3.0 (£1,370m) in contracts that will lose, and pointed out that was a considerable sum for an economy the size of its. When figures were last set up, the United States was porting less than \$1.5m a month to Iran.

The Foreign Secretary is a stirring defence of the attempt to rescue the hostages, praise the courage of the decision to make it and the attempt to He said that the United States had been admirably patient before resorting to force.

Asked about Afghanistan, he said that the Europeans were pressing more vigorously than the United States to neutralize Afghanistan. Vienna meeting celebrating twenty-fifth anniversary of Austrian state treaty, which Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, will attend would provide an occasion for doing so.

The Russian occupation of Afghanistan could never accepted, and the Russians be told so, he added. Pressure could be put on by the 100 nations which voted to condemn the invasion at the United Nations.

Vietnam's Catholics told support Communist ruler

From Michael Binyon, Moscow, May 4

Roman Catholic clergy in Vietnam have just ended a week-long congress in Hanoi, at which they enjoined Catholics and all believers to support the policies and authority of the Communist Party and Government.

A report by Tass said the meeting, which ended on May 1, was the first national congress since the foundation of the Catholic Church in Vietnam.

The participants visited the Ho Chi Minh Mausoleum, and held discussions with Mr Pham Van Dong, the Prime Minister. They also had talks with members of the central committee of the Fatherland Front of Vietnam.

In a statement addressed to all believers, the clergy urged their congregations to "follow national traditions and promote the present-day interests of the whole country". The address

emphasized that Vietnam Catholics were loyal citizens of the Communist state, and "We must clearly realize present-day problems of country, the course and of the state. We must make effective contribution to the defence of the motherland the construction of a powerful and happy Vietnam."

"We are proud that we citizens of the heroic, independent and united Vietnam, in the support of the people. We shall exert all effort to fulfil our mission."

The congress instituted council of bishops of Vietnam, will also stand, no much in the hope of defeating the two main challengers, to emphasize the presence in the party of a sizable liberal group.

To avoid the hazards of split, the party may agree to a new leadership with Constantine Papakonstantin aged 73, the Deputy Minister.

The Roman Catholic Church was one of the main supporters of President Ngo Dinh Diem, the South Vietnamese leader who aroused strong opposition among the country's Buddhist majority.

Amnesty fears that Timor prisoners were executed

By Our Foreign Staff

Amnesty International has asked President Suharto of Indonesia to order an investigation into the whereabouts of former members of the East Timor independence movement, Fretilin, who disappeared after surrendering to Indonesian forces under an amnesty offered in 1977. It is feared that 22 of the prisoners were summarily executed.

Amnesty said that at least 800 Timorese were being held in three prisons in East Timor, some of them since the Indonesian invasion in December 1975. They were under threat of being sent to other parts of the country, or to be beaten and tortured.

The organization called President Suharto to allow international observers to visit the prisons and to visit, prior to any release, all prisoners identified three jails where visitors were said to be nourished political prisoners slept on stone floors and ulcers was rampant.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher

One year after . . . Not a single principle that we have gone back on and I hope there won't be

A Times Profile

If it be not too inappropriate a word to apply to a trim and comely lady, the Prime Minister is distinctly bullish about the posture of her Government on the first anniversary of office. Current criticism that her economic medicine is too bitter for the Tory party is swinging the Goddess axe of between the wars stinging response:

"What they are saying is absolute poppycock and people just really aren't taking any notice of it. There is absolutely no comparison between today and the 1930s, none whatsoever. What really grieves me is that they know that what contributes to the increasing standard of living is the better use of more advanced machinery and technology. So long as they deny us that, they are denying themselves the better standard of living they could have. The rate of unemployment we have to suffer will depend to some extent on them."

"She has earned the description of being a 'conviction politician'. There are many who say that this is what won her the election. But even Edmund Burke's magisterial dictum, with its hint at U-turns—'There is not, there never was, a principle of government under Heaven that does not, in the very pursuit of the good it proposes, naturally and inevitably lead into some inconvenience which makes it absolutely necessary to counterwork and weaken the application of that first principle itself, . . .', falls to shake her."

"You've got to look at Burke's quotations in the light of the state of society which reigned in his time. There were not more than a few thousand people running the country as a whole and Burke was the first to recognize that you must have freedom and order. That was an absolutely fundamental principle to Burke. I wonder if he is doing any more than say that there is no such thing as absolute freedom because the absolute freedom of one person would hinder the absolute freedom of another and therefore you have to have a law to regulate between them."

"I think what he's probably saying is that if you are to consider everyone, you have to determine the pace at which you will go. If you suddenly cut off public expenditure much more sharply, you would undoubtedly hurt rather a lot of people. I believe we've just about got the speed of application right. There is, not one single principle that we have gone back on and I hope there won't be, because the manifesto was very carefully drafted for principle."

That historical reference had Mrs Thatcher bustling to the bookshelves in the Prime Minister's airy room on the first floor of No 10 Downing Street to look up counter-quotations. Otherwise the atmosphere in the great house is calm. The chateaux, composed and smiling, greets the visitor in the informal conversation corner. The silver-grey damask wall-paper and the proliferation of prints and paintings precede her time, but it is tempting to discern the feminine touch in the banks of hydrangeas in the Georgian fireplace.

But what of the rumour of dissent between "wets" and "dry-hards" in the Cabinet room of the need for an inner cabinet to monitor the implementation of policy, the incipient signs of back-bench revolt resulting from a large and too comfortable majority?

"The Cabinet has been absolutely united on the strategy. That is what has enabled us to put it into effect, absolutely. Of course we argue. I love argument. I love debate. I don't agree with anyone just to sit there and agree with me, that's not their job. These days you get rather more argument carried on in the media than we ever used to. There's no point in getting upset about that. It is just the way in which we live. I can't think of any time when there hasn't been pretty strong argument within political parties about the main issues of the day from Suez on."

"An inner cabinet tends to cause problems with the outer cabinet as it were. They feel that some people are being left out. I see chairmen of cabinet committees as a good deal more than others. I see chairmen of cabinet committees as a good deal more than others. I see a good deal of Willie Whitelaw. I see a great deal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, obviously. I see a great deal of the Foreign Secretary and of Sir Keith Joseph because he is Minister of Industry. I also see a great deal of David Howell, because energy is right at the heart of the very difficult decisions we have to take."

"But also, I must say, I go round the departments. I am always just a little bit concerned—there's a tremendous amount of talent in the Civil Service, particularly among young people. What bothers me is I

wonder if we are using it to good effect. Some of the stuff they are being asked to do really doesn't warrant the talent and personality and drive which they have. I'd rather have a good solid majority than a small one. Yes, it does permit a number of people to revolt from time to time. I am not sensitive about criticism. I do look at it to see if it's valid, of course I do. I recognize that if I want to do things and do them positively there will be some people who disagree with me."

"They have every bit as much right to express their criticism as I to express my views. I would not be worth my salt if I weren't attracting some controversy and criticism. Everyone in the world who has done something in life has attracted criticism. If your main objective was 'please, I just want to be liked and have no criticism' you would finish up by doing nothing in this world."

All the tensions and visible self-control of her first years as leader of the party have gone. The sternly upright sitting stance, with hands locked in her lap, has melted into relaxed ease and an almost Gallic freedom of gesture. Even so, the current 20 per cent inflation rate with many wage demands keeping pace, punitive interest and mortgage rates and a million and a half unemployed hardly make up the promised Conservative economic millennium.

"We have taken all the necessary steps and they will work through. It's like a patient, there's a time when you are still suffering from the disease and you take the medicine, and there is a time when you are suffering from both the disease and the medicine. That doesn't mean you stop the medicine, you know you have to take the medicine if you are to be cured of the disease."

"So we have started, we have cut government spending considerably, we have cut government borrowing, we are controlling the money supply. The immediate effect of that, I am afraid, is increased interest rates, just as sometimes the immediate effect of an antibiotic can be rather damaging to your digestive system."

"I believe the incentives will work. When it starts to get through, then we can reduce taxation a little more and we can have capital tax down. There is a different attitude on the part of employees because they recognize sense and will respond to it. There's a different mood on the part of small business, they recognize what we are doing."

"My worry is that for years we haven't been able to get across to people that unless you increase productivity and get maximum efficiency you are liable to have whole factories going out of business. People in this country always thought, well, if we get rid of restrictive practices and overmanning we will have unemployment. The evidence does not bear that out."

"If we continue with restrictive practices and overmanning when our competitors are not, we shall price ourselves out of the market and lose the business. If you look at our overseas competitors, Germany and Japan, their rate of unemployment is below ours and yet they have been the countries which have had maximum efficiency, minimal restrictive practices and rule books and have cut out the overmanning. They've got the business, they've got the jobs and we've got the unemployment. And we've got to get the message across."

"Yes, prices have gone up, mortgage rates have gone up, but if you look at last year as a whole there was an actual increase in the standard of living of the British people of some six per cent, so in fact their income has kept ahead of the rising cost of living."

"We had to look at this year and see what was top priority. We are very concerned indeed about high interest rates because of the effect it has on small businesses and on home ownership. We decided that the best thing we could do for the economy would be to cut down the amount of government borrowing. If we don't borrow so much from the market it should reduce the pressure on interest rates and help to bring them down."

"Of course one is never happy with a high inflation rate, because in the end it will destroy the kind of society we know. I was interested looking back at some of the debates we had last year concerning the warnings about high pay increases without productivity increases. Denis Healey made a speech virtually saying that if we get something like a 15 per cent increase in wages we should have a 13 per cent increase inflation by the end of the year."

"Now, you'll say we've had more than that. Yes of course we have, for the simple reason that in addition we've had 100 per cent increase in the price of oil and that really does work through to everything and it's working through in other econo-



mies as well as ours. You add on top of that the deliberate switch from direct tax to indirect tax and you'll see roughly how the present inflation rate is made up."

"At the end of any incomes policy you tend to get a kind of unwinding and what I would call a Clegg catch-up situation. We did last time, we are this time. We are through that unwinding now. I hope this is the last of the high rounds of public pay and I do think that an element of realism is breaking through. The retail price index, which is not quite the same thing, but is what people use as a guide, will obviously go down sharply when the effect of last year's budget drops out of the yearly index. We shall know about that in August."

"We haven't broken a single cash limit with these rounds. We didn't break the steel cash limit, we haven't broken any of the nationalized industry cash limits, apart from electricity where the limit has had to be increased to cover higher fuel stocks. Some of the increases in pay include a considerable productivity element. As far as the public sector, the Civil Service for example, is concerned, when the pay increase came out on average from the Pay Research Unit round about 18 per cent, we said 'all right, somehow it's got to be fitted into the 14 per cent cash limit'. We will have to cut down the numbers. It doesn't mean sacking people because we lose quite a lot by natural wastage, but it means fewer."

"We are not going to give any more taxpayers' money to finance a wage increase. It is just not fair. Many taxpayers are taking a very much lower increase in

wages than some of these big monopoly nationalized industries. Some small businesses have taken something like seven to eight per cent, or even below that, in wage increases. British Leyland are below."

"So we are saying to some of the monopolies, 'look, you've got very considerable assets, you own a large number of subsidiaries, some of which do not really bear very much relation to your main business, you have a lot of land lying about which often is not put to good productive use. You've got to do what any business would do, you've got to realize that.'"

"These monopoly services are the legacy of socialism to Britain and monopoly is a bad bargain for the British consumer. We have to try to introduce as much competition as we possibly can. Sometimes you have to do it round the edges, sometimes you can legislate to break the monopoly."

The imbalance in the economy has not been helped by the impasse at Luxembourg. Mrs Thatcher is rueful but determined: "I am obviously disappointed that we have not yet ended our excessive contribution to the Community's budget. But I am far from depressed. We made a lot of progress on this issue and I am confident that we shall soon get it sorted out generally to our satisfaction."

"In one respect I was, in fact, greatly encouraged by the council because, whatever our domestic EEC difficulties we were able to come out forth-

rightly and unanimously in support of our American allies over the Iranian hostages. This, I believe, shows the developing strength of the Community as a political force."

"It is nonetheless essential that we solve the issue of the United Kingdom's budget contribution as soon as possible. This country simply cannot go on paying these colossal sums across the exchanges to finance the Community. That, I believe, is now recognized by our partners. But we must have a settlement that will last. One year is not enough. We should constantly be arguing about the next year."

"My predecessor raised this issue and I took it up myself, first at Strasbourg, just after becoming Prime Minister, and then at Dublin. Heads of government have now debated it three times. We must soon settle it and on terms which are fair to Britain and fair also to Britain's agricultural, sheep, fishing and energy interests."

So, for the time being, the stick continues to be wielded. The carrot consists of such forecasts as a reduction in public sector borrowing from £8,500m to £2,500m in four years time, of between £2,500m and £3,500m of North Sea oil surplus becoming available during the term of the present Government to give a new face to the Budget and the economy. Can these hopes be realized?

"They can be fulfilled, I wouldn't have let the figures go out if they couldn't. What it will require will be a steady nerve and a total determination to see that they are fulfilled. There will

be difficult times in the next few months. This year, the April figure of increases will be bad because it contains the budget increases and the electricity and gas price increases as well as the rates. So the next month's figure will be bad for the Retail Price Index, something like 21 per cent. That won't drop until a few months later."

"Also, I am afraid, unemployment will rise, because of a certain number of redundancies. You have to slim down certain industries like shipbuilding and steel to make them efficient, to be able to conserve the industry for the future and to let it expand again."

"A tremendous amount will depend on how industry itself performs. If people take smaller wage increases or, alternatively, with bigger wage increases, match every pound by increased productivity, we can sell on that basis. We will sell on quality, because there are many times when you can sell on quality when you can't sell on price. We'll improve delivery and get the reputation back for Britain of the best, then we shall not have so much unemployment."

"For a period we've got inflation rising and unemployment rising. We've got to get through that period. As I tried to say in a speech the other day, government will do, is doing and will continue to do its part but, in the end, industry has got to respond to the stimulus. You've got to have leadership throughout industry. Government cannot do it alone any more than a general can win a battle on his own. He has got to have good leadership at every level, from his officers down to his non-commissioned officers and they have got to respond."

"We want to build a country where people don't come to government for every decision, every house, every job, every pay increase, every price increase. That's not what made Britain the country she is. She has made the country she is by people being able to take their own initiatives and their own decisions. We want that throughout the economy and it's working. It must be the first time for years and years that Downing Street has not actually interfered in a strike. I think it is better they are off my apron strings. You feel far more self respect, pride and responsibility when you do things yourself."

Gathering on the immediate horizon are the storm clouds of trade union frustration and outrage, to be expressed in the 'day of action' on May 14, at the rate of inflation and lack of the consultation with government to which they had previously grown accustomed. There is no sign of the 'economic forum' to emerge from the NEDC which formed part of Conservative thinking at election time. Is this deliberate break by Mrs Thatcher with the consensus politics of post-war years not fostering the drift to radical collectivism in the Labour Party and its supporters?

"Some of the leadership of the unions is really rather out of touch with the membership. That is certainly true of some of the shop stewards, as you've seen in British Leyland. I am not too exercised because I believe that our message is getting through to the chaps on the shop floor and in the offices. Indeed they voted for it in large numbers. There's far more understanding and good sense in people than some politicians give them credit for."

"Consultation on matters which affect employment legislation is done where it should be, by the department. It's not limited to consulting with the TUC. It's consulting with the CBI, it's consulting with those who represent small businesses, it's much wider consultation."

"The real problem is, one fears, that if one consults with the TUC, or when they come to see me, so many of the views they are putting up are not on what one would call industrial relations as a subject, looked at from the viewpoint of the relationships between employers and employees, they are on to politics. We were elected to do certain things and the real difficulty of this country is that the Labour Party is financed by the trade unions and therefore any political advice they give is obviously not without prejudice."

"We did feel the need for a forum where we could get over what I call the realistic side of life constantly, the importance of increasing efficiency and output, which often isn't working harder, it's just working more effectively. It's really letting the machines do the work with the minimum number of people needed to operate them, instead of the machines lying idle or not being properly used."

"We thought that there should be another forum where we could get these vital facts of life across. It would seem that the unions are not overkeen to have one. They seem to think they get together with the employers

and consumers in Neddy. One of the points of having a forum would have been that the consumer would have been better represented. We are all consumers."

"People are rejecting collectivism because it doesn't give them enough scope. One of the reasons why they voted for us is that they prefer to take decisions where they are, on the shop floor. They don't want it referred back to London to a great centralized authority."

"You see how they will respond to purchasing their own council houses. They prefer to do that, there's a tremendous individualistic streak in the British people. What we have to do is to get government to do the jobs that only government can do. That is a very big task, not a laissez-faire task at all. I run the financial side of it right to run the taxation right is a very big job indeed and requires great deal of skill and a great deal of resolve and determination."

"It also requires that you don't have monopoly power. Monopoly is bad and people are beginning to realize that, so we have to tackle that. People throughout the country and in the local authorities must exercise the responsibility properly. They are the elected representatives and they in fact must make the decisions."

From this her mind moves easily to the one undeniable success of her administration, the settlement in Rhodesia: "The result in Rhodesia will be one of the far reaching events of the period because at a time when communist influence was extending in Africa, Britain came back in and said 'we are going to replace war by free elections'. We did it in a way which kept Europe and the freeworld with us and which has kept a large part of Africa with us."

"They are realizing that those countries are to be able to control their own destinies, their own peoples, they can do it by being allied with communism, which would deny them the right to choose their own destiny. Not only have we brought the ballot to replace a bullet to Rhodesia, the west world has come in with men on top of ours to help Rhodes. This may be the turning point in the influence of our way of life in Africa."

"I don't say western influence in Africa, I don't use the term in that way. The importance of increasing our influence in Africa is that I believe our way of life is infinitely superior to every human being than a which the communist creed offer. The major challenge the communist creed is coming now. For years they were saying the march of socialism and communism is inevitable. Not now. I would say that the end of the demise of the communist creed is inevitable because it is not a creed of human beings with spirit who wish to live their own lives and the rule of law."

Moscow's "Iron Lady" certainly belies that sobriquet in her completely feminine appearance. Her coat and skirt is in wavy mauve wool, offset by touches of saffron in the matching blouse with a bow at the throat. She wears gold turkish head earrings, an antique amethyst ring, a familiar cairngorm bracelet and a slim watch. Her smile is neat in black patent leather court shoes. Her fair hair is meticulously coiffed, the fibrous face completely devoid of any sign of strain. How does she do it?

"I've no idea, it's just that I a round peg in a round hole don't feel any sign of physical strain at all. I've always led an enormous timetable but I like it. I have a tremendous amount of energy and for the first time my life it is fully used. I have always a little bit in reserve, public life you must, because matter how busy you are there will be some time when you are a little bit extra. But when you are going flat out you never tire, it's when you've stopped. Fatigue is cumulative. It does she relax and recharge her batteries? "Well, you just chat the sort of work you do. I do quite a lot of reading during the recess because I insist that I am not totally circumscribed by the papers that come to me. I discuss with quite a number of university people, academic people. I go out and about quite a lot. I am determined not to come encapsulated in and by 10. There is so much of interest. It is stimulating."

"My pleasure reading are mainly the John Le Carré kind of thing, which I love. Of course I do read biography and so philosophy and anything in connection with the home. I go through the House of Commons, seeing what other people are doing who have time and money to do it."

Brian Connolly

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OVERSEAS

Kabul riots blamed on China and US

From Michael Binyon
Moscow, May 4

The Afghan Government today alleged that Chinese supporters and the American Central Intelligence Agency had stirred up recent demonstrations in Kabul by students and pupils in which, according to foreign visitors, many people were killed.

A Ministry of the Interior statement, reported by Tass, said that Afghan security forces had "repeatedly urged the students and pupils to observe order and discipline. A number of demonstrators had been arrested."

The statement made no mention of any deaths during the riots.

It said that according to the recent draft constitution, democratic rights and liberties should not be used to the detriment of the state or other citizens.

"Such actions, under whatever slogans, are directed against the national interests of Afghanistan."

The ministry said pupils should learn discipline and get on with their studies. It urged them not to yield to "hostile propaganda" or follow the enemies of the people.

The statement called on the people of Kabul to help the security forces to discover and disclose "the enemies of the Afghan people."

Attack on insurgents: A bomb exploded last night at the headquarters in Peshawar, Pakistan, of one of Afghanistan's main insurgent groups. Police were killed or wounded.

The two-storey building housing the Jamiat Islami movement collapsed under the impact of the bomb and an adjoining house was destroyed.

Pakistan officials said. Police were still clearing the wreckage today and searching for survivors.

Officials speculated that the bomb could have been planted either by an insurgent group or by saboteurs acting for the Kabul regime. Attacks on insurgent groups in Peshawar and their leaders, are not uncommon.—Reuter.

Front runners see support eroded in Texas primaries

From David Cross
Houston, May 4

Mr George Bush, the former director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), has kept his challenge to Mr Ronald Reagan for the Republican presidential nomination alive by finishing a close second in yesterday's primary election in Texas.

Although an opinion poll suggested before the vote that Mr Reagan would beat Mr Bush by a margin of three to one, the former Governor of California won only 52 per cent of the Republican vote, compared with 47 per cent for Mr Bush.

By contrast, Senator Edward Kennedy, who is equally determined to stay in the race for the Democratic nomination until the end, suffered another strong rebuff in a southern state.

President Carter beat him by 56 per cent to 22 per cent in the non-binding preference vote and seems certain to win most of the state's 152 delegates to the Democratic National Convention in New York. The delegates are being chosen at caucus meetings and the results will not be known until the middle of the week.

Mr Bush learnt of his strong showing in the primary while he was campaigning for Tuesday's primary in North Carolina.

For a while, as the results were coming in last night, Mr Bush was in fact leading Mr Reagan. This was because the urban voters were counted first and Mr Bush had made a special effort to court voters in large cities such as Houston and Dallas during a final week of intensive campaigning.

Because it was his home state, Mr Bush knew that he had to do better than the pundits and the opinion polls were predicting.

He spent \$500,000 (£270,000) in a final television advertising campaign compared with \$200,000 (£100,000) for Mr Reagan on his whole campaign in the state.

Mr Reagan was unperturbed by the closeness of the vote.

Asked whether he thought the Texas vote had slowed his advance for the Republican nomination, he replied: "Heavens, no."

His assessment is undoubtedly correct. Not only did Mr Reagan pick up another 85 delegates for the Republican National Convention in caucuses in Arizona, Oklahoma, Missouri, Minnesota and Guam yesterday, but he will take most of the 80 Republican delegates at stake here yesterday.

This is because delegates in Texas are apportioned by district, irrespective of the size of population, and Mr Reagan beat Mr Bush in virtually all counties of the state.

In the Democratic race, Senator Kennedy had made a late effort to secure the votes of the state's two minority groups—the Mexican-Americans and the blacks—although he had neither the money nor the time to canvass voters very energetically.

His priority was not to win converts but to get his supporters to the polls. In that he was successful in cities such as Houston and San Antonio.

Nevertheless, it must have been galling for him to discover that the number of Texas Democrats who went to the polls to cast "uncommitted" votes was almost equal to his vote total. The result showed that 19 per cent of Democrats felt themselves unable to vote either for the Senator from Massachusetts or for the incumbent in the White House.

In a southern, conservative state this must also bode ill for President Carter, who has been the Democratic nominee.

Mr Kennedy's share of yesterday's popular vote is in line with the public opinion survey conducted by the Texas Monthly Journal in mid-April. But President Carter's support fell from 69 per cent in that poll to 56 per cent yesterday.

That probably reflects a decline in his popularity.

Democrat Carter 56 per cent, Kennedy 22 per cent, Uncommitted 19 per cent.

Republicans: Reagan 52 per cent, Bush 47 per cent.



A huge cheering crowd surges around the Pope in Kinshasa as he arrived to ordain eight new African bishops.

CIA escapes curb on its operations

From Our Own Correspondent
Washington, May 2

Congress has abandoned efforts to impose on the Central Intelligence Agency a charter that would severely limit its covert operations abroad.

Instead, a short Bill will be enacted which will permit the CIA to recruit American clergymen, journalists and teachers abroad, and make it a criminal offence to disclose the identity of CIA agents.

The attempt to regulate the agency began as a consequence of disclosures in the mid-1970s about its past misdeeds. They included attempts to arrange the overthrow of the Government of the Dominican Republic and Chile, and to arrange the assassination of Fidel Castro.

Former CIA members published the names of many. But the tide of anti-CIA sentiment in Congress started to turn when an agent was assassinated in Athens shortly after his name had been disclosed. (No direct connexion between the two events was established.)

Various international events since then, it is thought, have demonstrated the need for a secret service.

Now it will no longer be necessary for the CIA to obtain the consent of eight congressional committees before starting a covert operation. In future, only the Senate and House intelligence committees will be involved.

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India looks for EEC help to develop energy potential

From Richard Wigg
Delhi, May 4

Responding to India's growing awareness of its energy problem, Mr Roy Jenkins, President of the European Commission, said here last night that the new agreement between the European Community and India would envisage joint ventures to help India to develop its hydrocarbon resources.

Negotiations on a new agreement to replace the 1974 trading arrangements are to start between the two sides in about a month's time. Mr Jenkins is now on a week's visit to India.

Mrs Gandhi, the Prime Minister, when she had talks with Mr Jenkins on Friday, suggested that the developed countries should do more to help oil-importing nations such as India by providing both technical expertise to develop indigenous energy resources and increased financial assistance to offset their bigger bills for oil imports.

One of the main themes of Mr Jenkins's two days of talks here was the need to diversify the investment markets for the Opec countries' petrodollars.

Talking to reporters last night he said conditions for stable investment opportunities must be created so that instead of the oil-rich nations investing as now in relatively low-risk industrial countries, while the industrial nations invested in high-risk countries elsewhere, funds flowed to where they were most needed throughout the Third World.

India's new agreement with the EEC will include guarantees for investment, an issue which has delayed the start of the negotiations.

Mr Ramaswamy Venkatarman, the Finance Minister, on his return here yesterday from attending meetings of the International Monetary Fund in Hamburg and the Asian Development Bank in Manila, said that the developed countries would for the first time be obliged to seek assistance from the IMF's trust fund.

Foreign exchange reserves are substantial enough to prevent any crisis in the next two years. However, India's oil import bill this year is expected to reach 50,000m rupees (£2,800m). This compares with total export earnings last year of 60,000m rupees.

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For the record

Five Jews killed in Arab attack

The following is a summary of foreign news items The Times would have published on Saturday.

Jerusalem: Five Jewish settlers were killed and about 30 others injured—including many women—during an Arab grenade and gun attack in Hebron. The Jews were returning from Sabbath prayers to the town centre.

The attack was aimed at a dilapidated two-storey building which the settlers have occupied illegally—but with tacit Government approval—for more than a year. Afterwards Israeli troops sealed off the town and imposed a curfew.

London: Mr Ilya Grigorovich Dzhirkvelov, a senior Soviet intelligence officer who defected to Britain with his wife and daughter, has been granted asylum, the Foreign Office said.

He had been working in the public relations department of the World Health Organization in Geneva since 1977.

London: A French farmer who was hit by a car during an anti-British demonstration at Calais on Wednesday has died in hospital from his injuries.

Washington: Colonel Charles Beckwith, commander of the ground force in the Iran rescue mission, said he told his superiors that the operation should be called off in the desert after three helicopters had broken down. He denied that he wanted to press on with the mission or had threatened to resign.

London: The Czechoslovak human rights movement, Charter 77, has appointed six more of its signatories to a new body which was created in February to represent a wide ideological spectrum within the civil rights movement.

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Seoul: Four South Koreans have been sentenced to death for subversive activities in support of North Korea. A further 69 received prison terms, including four life sentences.

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Prisoners of conscience



China: Fu Yuehua

By Caroline Moorehead

Fu Yuehua, a 34-year-old construction worker, lost her job in 1972 when she accused a Communist Party branch secretary of raping her. Seven years later she was arrested after helping to organize demonstrations in Peking, and is now serving a two-year prison sentence.

She became active in the human rights movement only after her arbitrary dismissal from her job and failure to find work elsewhere. Her accusation of rape was held to be "entirely false".

While petitioning for her case to be reexamined, she met other petitioners, particularly peasants who had come to Peking with their own grievances.

Fu Yuehua tried to help them by writing wall-posters for human rights and democratic reforms, and on January 14, 1979, she took part in a peasant demonstration in the capital. Four days later she was arrested and she was held for nine months before her trial began on October 17, 1979.

Once an arrest warrant has been issued in China, people can be held for an unlimited period until enough evidence has been gathered to decide whether a prosecution is justified.

During this time, according to the unofficial statement of a man who was also detained in the Gongdein detention centre in Peking, she was badly beaten up by police to make her confess. He added that she had gone on hunger strike in protest, but police opened her mouth with a poker to force her to eat.

On December 24 Fu Yuehua was sentenced for "organizing disturbances which violated public order". The charge of libel, which referred to her continuing allegations of rape, was dropped, apparently as a result of evidence she produced at the trial.

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London:

Eric Heffer

Protesting: the only way to survive

'In each country the peace movement must oppose the deployment of nuclear weapons... despite Nato or Warsaw Pact obligations'

Last Monday at press conferences in London, Paris, Berlin, Lisbon and Oslo, an appeal for a European nuclear-free zone was launched, backed by MEPs, scientists, academics and trade unionists from all over Europe.

In the present world situation, the appeal is not only opportune, it is vital. Slowly but inexorably, the world is drifting towards conflict and it may already be too late. The appeal states that if world peace is to be guaranteed, the remedy is in our own hands and it is essential for the people of Europe, particularly in Europe, to act together to free European territory of nuclear weapons of all kinds.

The two super powers are asked to consider withdrawing all nuclear weapons from European territory. The Soviet Union is urged to halt production of the SS 20 medium range missile and the USA not to implement the decision to develop cruise and Pershing 2 missiles for deployment in western Europe.

This call is similar to that contained in Labour's NEC statement which was put to the special conference on May 31. Labour says: "The Labour Party calls upon the British Government to enter immediately into East-West negotiations with a view to reaching new agreements that would ensure that cruise

missiles and Soviet SS 20s are both withdrawn". At the same time, the NEC draws attention to the fact that in 1974 the party renounced the production of a new generation of nuclear weapons or a successor to Polaris, and that such a policy is much the best course for Britain to pursue.

It further makes it clear that Labour opposes the manufacture and deployment of cruise missiles and the neutron bomb and will not agree to their deployment by the United States in Europe.

In the past, peace initiatives have too often been used cynically, particularly by the Soviet leaders. The World Peace Movement, for example, with the dove as its symbol, was undoubtedly used as propaganda by the Soviets, despite the fact that good and well-meaning people were involved in it. The appeal issued on April 28 has taken account of this danger and says: "We must resist any attempts by the statesmen of East and West to manipulate this movement to their own advantage. We offer no advantage to either NATO or the Warsaw Alliance. Our objectives must be free Europe for peaceful discourse to enforce détente between the United States and the Soviet Union, and ultimately to dis-

solve both great power alliances." To this end, the people of Europe must begin to act as if neutral Europe were already in existence. They must stop being loyal to nation states, East or West, and instead be loyal to each other. This may appear naive and simplistic, but as Lord Philip Noel Baker said in *The Times* in January: "Any use of nuclear weapons will escalate into a general war. There is no defence against such weapons; and... nuclear war will destroy civilisation and perhaps exterminate mankind." Also, Lord Zuckerman, in *The Times* in August, said: "The belief that nuclear weapons can be 'limited', said: 'It is still inevitable that were military installations rather than

to survive. The appeal calls for a national and an international campaign. In each country the peace movement must oppose the deployment of nuclear weapons in their own state, despite Nato or Warsaw Pact treaty obligations. In Europe the various national movements will need to keep in close contact with each other and a European consciousness must be developed in the common cause of survival.

It will be argued that such a movement will play into the hands of the Soviet Union, because while in the West the people can exercise democratic pressures and elect governments of their demands, that is not the case in the East. It is true that the movement in the West will find very different expression to that in East Europe. In the West, large popular movements can and will arise which will usually be in direct conflict with the policies of their own governments.

At first, no doubt, Soviet leaders will look with some pleasure on this, but as they are always preaching "peace-loving" propaganda, their rhetoric can be used to advantage by the peace movement in the West. In East Europe today, the pressures for peace and greater democracy are increasing, although it has to be recog-

nised it will only be the courageous few who will at first take part in the movement, but their numbers can and will grow.

If the movement for a nuclear-free zone is successful in the West, it is bound to help to relax tension and the arguments advanced by the Soviet leaders for repressive measures because of military dangers will diminish. It is surely no accident that Rudolph Bahro, the East German Marxist philosopher, and the socialist dissidents Roy and Zores Medvedev, have signed the appeal, as have others like Arthur London from Czechoslovakia and Professor Andras Hegedus, one-time Premier of Hungary.

As Professor Edward Thompson says in his new pamphlet, *Protest and Survival*, issued by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Bureau of Russell Peace Foundation: "It would be nice to have a quiet life. But they are not going to let us have that if we wish to survive we must protest."

The truth is, the days of laissez-faire who could go fishing and write a book about it while civil war raged about him, are over. Today there is nowhere to hide, even the deepest shelter will not suffice. The author is Labour MP for Liverpool, Walton

Yugoslavia: the future without a father figure

Belgrade
Yugoslavia today took a deep breath and stepped into the future without the man whose immense prestige and personality has towered over it for 35 years. The world which has been haunted by the worrying questions—after Tito who? and after Tito what?—waited. The machinery of succession moved swiftly into action showing that the leadership was prepared.

To ordinary Yugoslavs President Tito was the indispensable man, the father figure under whose wing whole generations felt safe and secure. They began to regard him as everlasting. They saw him as a leader they could always depend upon in times of trouble and need, and the feeling has been one of children suddenly realizing that they are thrust into the big wide world on their own.

Tito outlived all the great post-war leaders. He had defied Stalin and survived to become the first man who has done so and the first man to drive a wedge into what, before his defiance, was a monolithic communist movement with Moscow the nucleus of capital and Stalin the king.

Tito will go down as the first "Euro communist", although he disagreed with such labels and often said that Titoism was an ideology that did not exist. This he said, which he agreed with. For them it stood for independence, non-alignment and a relaxed internal system based on self-management.

But the towering personality who came to the war in 1944 and stayed until today was the linchpin of Yugoslavia for so many years that it is unimaginable that the country can exist without him. This, of course, is not true.

Tito always had a strong sense of humour, and on numerous occasions had shown that what he wanted was not just to go down as a creator and unifying force in immediate post-war years but as a founder of a Yugoslavia that would survive him.

He had anticipated the future that would follow his departure and over past decades had taken steps to facilitate a stable transition to help Yugoslavia continue from where he stopped. To provide for an orderly succession he set up a system of a rotating collective leadership both in the League of Communists and in the state.

To appease national feeling, especially among the Croats, and thus safeguard against the danger of national friction, he had devolved power and granted a high degree of autonomy to the ethnically diverse republics.

To warn Russia of the high price she would have to pay for a military intervention he had set up a system of defence involving many adult Yugoslavs. The 200,000-strong army is completely multi-national and the strongest Yugoslav institution. There is no historic tradition for army rule but in the event of a political crisis threatening and increasing the danger of foreign intervention it is clear that the army would provide the last resort.

The army, Tito again reminded his countrymen as recently as last month, was not only responsible for the defence of Yugoslavia's borders, but its constitutional order as well.

Tito also laid great stress in his later years on saying that his greatest achievement and he repeatedly called for "brotherhood and unity of equal nations sharing the common interest by living together in a highly federalized state. He had tried to reduce the gap between the advanced north and the underdeveloped south, but like every other country or, indeed, the world, he found that the gap continued to widen. The question, however, remained: can social revolution and economic betterment create the kind of common loyalty Tito had achieved?

Today the nation is surrounded by uniting. It is unity in

grief. It is also unity in anxiety over the uncertain future highlighted by the Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and by the sudden realization that the loss of the man who, in the minds of every Yugoslav, whether communist, neutral, or against, came to be regarded as a safe and sound barrier against Soviet designs.

Not that there is any fear of the Russians invading Yugoslavia. Rather, it is the deep mistrust of Soviet intentions that passed from one generation to another instilling a constant awareness of Soviet subversion should Yugoslavia's national social or economic weaknesses suddenly erupt.

Much more unites the Yugoslavs than it is generally believed. There is a broad consensus on the need to continue Tito's policies of non-alignment abroad, and market economy at home. The system has deep roots and it is not just an ephemeral product created and dependent on one man alone. Even Tito used to say that Yugoslavia's stability was not secured by individuals.

The Yugoslav experiment, a unique combination of a national federalism, administrative decentralization, self-management, and a single communist party, an institution to prevent the complicated inter-caste and tribal fighting structure from falling apart, is a success story. The Yugoslavs are aware that the real danger comes from within, from a crisis which Russia could exploit to its advantage, from a power struggle which President Tito, by setting up a system of succession, tried to avoid.

The scenario that a crisis might provide Russia with a pretext to set up a more accommodating government has been regarded as one of the nightmare possibilities. But the Yugoslavs seem confident that even should the present form of leadership be replaced by personalities or one person eventually safeguarding the constitution, the four basic dangers would be secured.

Tito in his later years did his utmost to build Yugoslavia's international standing. Realizing that Soviet-backed Cuban efforts to tilt non-alignment to the Soviet side represented a threat to the movement, he was determined to show in it, he went to Havana last year to head it off by his sheer weight of his enormous personality. It is doubtful, however, whether Yugoslavia could retain such an influential position after him.

Tito's towering personality made it impossible to discern what was real and what was the fiction. He was certainly the only man in a country who could make a break the rules, create institutions, and ignore them, create a system. The weight of his power led everybody to believe that Yugoslavia's future depended on him alone. This, of course, is absurd. Nothing will be the same again. But by such a leader is definitely not repeatable. He ends with his death. It will be replaced by the rule of pragmatic policies, by institutions.

The "country" question remains. It is whether country as complex as Yugoslavia has reached the stage of maturity where the Serbs, Croats, the Montenegrins, the Albanians, and the various unrepresented ethnic minorities with different languages, cultures and religions all feel themselves to have a vested interest in sticking together and continuing the experiment Tito started 35 years ago.

The future is uncertain, as it will, surely be made difficult without a man who presides for so long. But what is often forgotten is that Tito created a strong and prosperous middle-class whose instinct is for stability, whose interests in evolution rather than revolution, and the ultimate risk of losing all. Spain, China or Kenya have all gone to a more or less peaceful transition. There is no reason why Yugoslavia should be any different. It is up to them to move ahead without upheaval.

Dessa Trevisa

A romantic tragedy in old Trieste

There can be no more romantic a casualty of public expenditure cuts than the British Consulate in Trieste which has closed after 236 years service rich in literary and historical associations. Lying between the sea and the city, the marble white of the limestone karst, the city is approached from the west by a railway dramatically cut into the cliff. Invariably late, the train speeds past the fairytale castle of Miramare and the melancholy wooden buildings that were the Habsburgs' private station.

Three minutes later, pausing to contemplate the impressive *Stazione Centrale*, it is easy to see the unique importance Trieste possessed until 1918 as the principal port of the Austrian Empire. Grand boulevards lined with imposing palaces have survived a turbulent history and the fierce *Bora* wind which necessitates safety ropes at street corners. A rich Greek-Orthodox community, a vast synagogue together with a gothic-revival German evangelical church and the more humble Anglican "Christ-church" all testify to the wealthy émigré families who settled in the city encouraged first by its free-port status and then by the opening of the Suez Canal.

Among the British residents, the most remarkable personality was Sir Richard Francis Burton. From 1872, he served the last 18 years of his life as consul in Trieste. Diplomatic dinners and the welcome of the British engineers who kept the Austrian Lloyd's prosperous merchant fleet afloat only bored the renowned scholar and surveyor of the sources of the Nile. Dreaming of the East, he devoted his fluency in 20 languages to a notorious translation of *The Arabian Nights*. Now his portrait will no longer adorn the British Consulate but the Trieste, indifferent to Burton's hostility and proud of their city's literary connections, will always remember him by the "Via Richard Francis Burton" and the fine bronze plaque they have erected on the former Consul's residence.

Across the *Canale Grande*, two minutes' walk from the Consulate, the *Pontorosso* where James Joyce taught at the Berlitz school is lively evidence of Trieste's unique situation on the crossroads of three cultures. Swarthy Montenegrins exchange their brightly-coloured pantheons for coveted Italian jeans, often donning as many pairs

as possible to avoid paying duty at the frontier.

Seeking refuge from the *Bora* in the nearby exquisitely Austrian *Caffè Tommaseo*, where between newspapers, mirrors and pot-plants, Joyce had encouraged the young writer *Italo Svevo*, the mood is one of wistful nostalgia. One of the white-jacketed waiters, obeying the unwritten laws of the most egalitarian society in the world, discusses the city's uncertain economic future with a leading critic of the *Corriere della Sera*.

The view of the harbour has changed only in one respect since Joyce and Burton's day. There are now no ships or, at least very few for a port that was turning over three million tons in 1913. From behind a copy of the *Viennese Neue Freie Presse*, an ageing countess explains why. In grammatically perfect yet distinctly Central European English she asks what function can Trieste have in the modern Europe?

Italy has many Adriatic ports and Yugoslavia has flourishing Rijeka through which Hungary and Czechoslovakia now receive all the goods Austrian railways once brought them from Trieste. Of the three railway-lines linking the city with Vienna and the heart of Central Europe only one survives, making the rail-journey to the Austrian capital six hours longer than it was in 1908.

A distinguished Jewish writer who can be found in his *café* every morning talks of the unique problems of his multi-racial city. Passions still run high over the controversial issue of Bilingualism. Memories of the Second World War and the bloody riots of the early fifties before the allied military government handed Trieste over to Italy in 1954 still linger. By the treaty of Osimo concluded five years ago, provision was made for the establishment of an Industrial Free zone on the precious limestone karst. Deeply concerned by the possible economic and ecological consequences of this and the doubts over the future of Yugoslavia, the local majority party, the *Liste per Trieste* are convinced that the 80s will prove the most crucial period for their city since Charles VI declared Trieste a free port in 1719. For them, the closure of Britain's oldest European Consulate was an estimated twenty thousand pounds a year, seems both bewildering and ill-timed.

Richard Bassett

Why they can't afford tea any more in the Willow Rooms

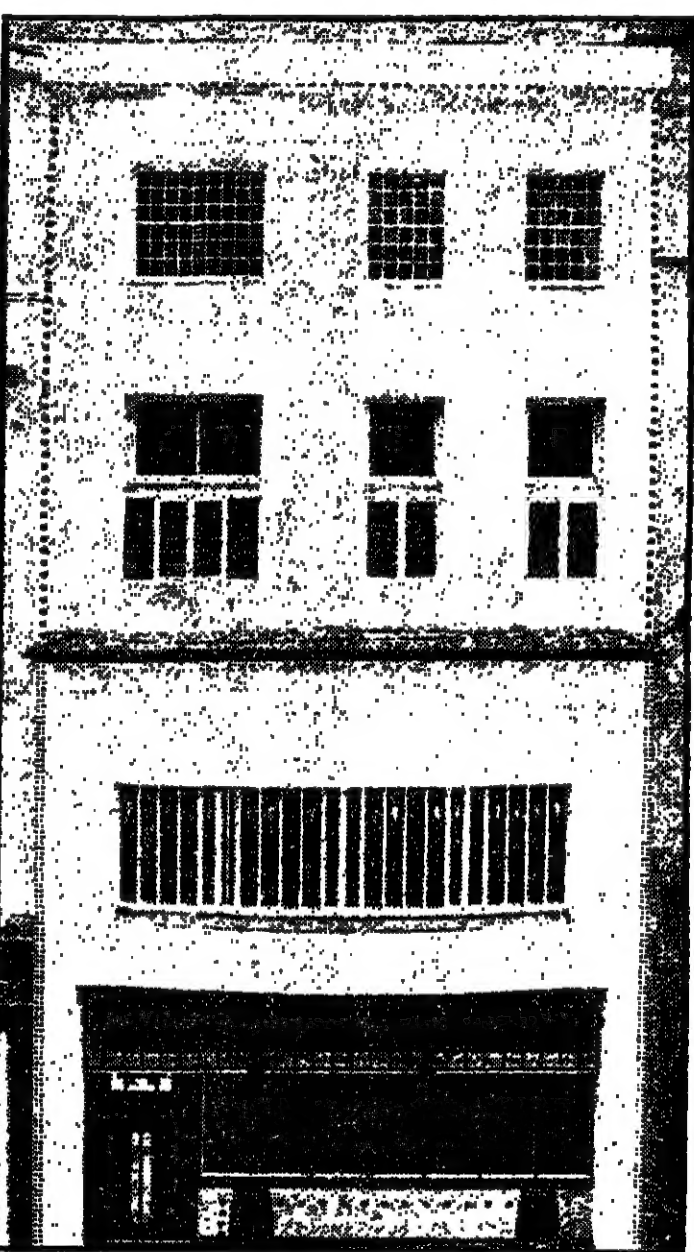
The developers have unveiled their "restoration" of the Willow Tea Rooms in Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. The Arrowcroft Group, backed by the London Transport Pension Fund, have separated the building from its original purpose (this slice of building from a much larger rehabilitation of the remainder of the former Daly's store. The rest is now available as shops, with offices above, in the usual way.

The building is the last survivor of the Charles Rennie Mackintosh tearooms—and still retained some of its decoration by virtue of its use as part of a larger drapery store. The district council, with the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society, persuaded the developers to treat this particular part of the development in a self-contained way, restoring what could be restored to the original design. A remnant is now sought.

It cannot be disputed that more effort has probably gone into the restoration of the Willow Tea Rooms than normally goes into rehabilitation—save perhaps the careful efforts of Haslemere Estates in London. The developer's architect, Cecil Fisher, had as consultants the firm Keppie Henderson and Partners, which is the distant descendant of the firm from which Mackintosh split with some acrimony in 1913. The effort seems largely archaeological. Drawings and photographs of the original interior were hunted out, studied carefully and copied where appropriate. Colours have been matched as carefully as possible.

As a marriage between economics and scholarship it is to be commended. But there are a few doubts. First, on a question of detailing. The restoration has been adduced as having been "painstakingly restored to its original design". It must therefore be judged, in those terms, it could be called a masterpiece. The main door is different, the thickness of the glazing bars in the clerestory seems to be heavier than in the original and, of course, the original bowed window was omitted. While one can accept that this last might be accepted to some extent, the proportion of the glazing bars in the new flat window gives a completely different effect.

On the upper storeys, the photograph of the original reveals a delicacy in the actual glazing details which seems not to be present. The old building was also delineated at roof level between two tall chimney stacks.



The Willow Tea Rooms in Sauchiehall Street as they are today: as a marriage between economies and scholarship it is to be commended. But there are a few doubts... something largely outside most people's control

Such stacks are no longer useful but the removal of the left-hand one causes the building to lose some of its vertical emphasis. The second point relates to

the treatment of the main staircase. As a previous article in this newspaper 18 months ago pointed out, one consequence of the decision to develop the

Willow as it has been developed is that modern building regulations have required the splendid open staircase to be closed in with a frame and wired glass for fire safety precautions. Many people protested at this enclosure, but the objections were overruled by the Secretary of State. Indeed, the developers enclosed the staircase even before the Scottish Office had given their determination. It is a pity that the staircase had to be enclosed, but that said, it has not been at all badly done.

The pity of this development is something largely outside most people's control. These wonderful rooms were designed as totalities: decoration, carpets, furniture, paintwork, tea service, lamps and other impediments were all designed to achieve a single effect. In that respect, Mackintosh was a direct descendant of Robert Adam who liked to have the same control. Contemporary photographs show how the decorations were matched room by room, by the design of the furniture. The room with the low ceiling would have low chairs; the narrow, higher, vaulted room would have the high-backed chairs.

Those rooms are totally empty, awaiting tenants. Their place in a modern society is indicated by the socket sprouting through white walls. The restoration has been of the wall decoration, fireplaces, metal balustrades, and gallery timberwork. As a result, it looks slightly irrelevant: a splendid background without foreground. Indeed, since it was not possible to use the place for a tearoom (several of those present said they had offered to run one but with annual rent rates of £50,000, it was not a drink an awful lot of tea (as Mackintosh said), it might have been more in keeping with Rennie Mackintosh to abandon his decoration and design a contemporary High-Tech decoration which could match high-tech office furniture and machinery.

It is difficult therefore to combine an archaeological exercise with a modern function. It is virtually impossible to do it in a building where the function was integral to the overall design.

In sum, one might well say to the developers: the Willow is well restored—but restored for what?

Charles McKean

DIARY OF COSMIC MATTERS

Something vital left over from the big bang

It was a tremendous relief to return from the distant Caribbean, land at Kennedy Airport in a casual way to find that New York was its familiar self—in other words teetering on the brink of cataclysm.

The eleven o'clock news was a vintage edition. There was yet another crisis of confidence in Washington, floods on Staten Island and the New York Yankees had been robbed of certain victory by rain. Muhammad Ali was ranting about how he would whip his latest opponent, the credit squeeze was tightening and a man was casually tossing bricks from a Broadway roof on to the heads of unsuspecting pedestrians.

"So what else is new?" I asked my wife, and did not wait for a reply. Next morning, when my wife brought me the *New York Times* in bed (please don't tell my feminist friends about that; I really knew I was back, and I rejoiced. For it was a Tuesday, and Tuesday's *New York Times* is my very favourite.

That is the day they publish their weekly section of news about science. With any luck it will contain another remarkable article by Walter Sullivan.

I have never met Sullivan but from his work I judge him to be a splendid fellow. Not for him to fuss over trivia like *Clare* or the occasional brick: his concern is for cosmic matters, the very origin of life.

There it was, last Tuesday, a magnificent, all-embracing headline: "New findings challenge prevailing view of universe". It was the first news of the tentative discovery—which has since been reported in other newspapers—that neutrinos, particles believed to fill the universe, may have mass, contrary to the former conventional wisdom. The findings were a revelation, for we were told to our wonderment, in four countries separately.

And in case we doubted whether we should really care, we had the word of Professor Carlo Rubbia from Harvard: "The cosmological consequences are absolutely fantastic". This kind of reporting is to journalism (if both our science and arts editors will forgive me) as grand opera is to art. It does not relate to anyone's real experience, it is dreadfully

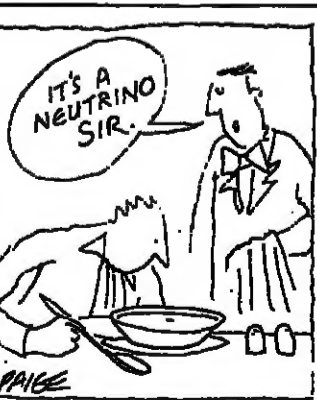
hard to understand, but those who like it can scarcely do without it. Its sheer sweep and scale help put one's own petty concerns into perspective.

Listen to this aria, for example: "If the findings are confirmed, revolutionary changes in physics theory will be necessary. It will mean that neutrinos are the dominant material of the universe, perhaps providing sufficient gravity ultimately to reverse expansion of the universe and lead to its collapse."

That is the second paragraph of the report. The skilful Sullivan knows there is nothing we enthusiasts like more than to be told that the story we are reading is not merely barely comprehensible but also potentially lethal, its effects less direct than the hurled brick of wider-ranging. The end of the world, if not at hand, is at least close enough to fret about.

"Neutrinos are everywhere and never at rest," he goes on. "It is estimated that hundreds of billions of them travel through every person on earth every second. It has been assumed that they come in three forms, all of which are without mass and travel at the speed of light."

"The new findings suggest that neutrinos oscillate between these three states, continuously changing hats," so to speak. This oscillation always involves a change in mass, indicating that the particles must have mass. If they have mass, they cannot travel quite at the speed of light, as had been assumed, and can be captured by massive objects such as galaxies."



It is all equally engrossing and I could go on quoting verbatim, except that you would accuse me with justification of using a lazy device to fill the column. Sullivan describes the search for the elusive neutrino, pursued, for perfectly sound

scientific reasons, at the bottom of gold mines in South Africa and South Dakota. Each thimbleful of the universe is believed to contain about 100 neutrinos, left over from the big bang by which the universe was created. They also have "cousins"—muons and tau particles—which I do not propose to get involved with here.

Science reporting at this level has much the same function as religion. It is a tremendous help in coping with everyday tribulations to know that in essence everyone is the same. That we all have hundreds of billions of neutrinos passing through us every second, that the neutrino flashing through me as I write this might in the recent past have been darting through you, or President Carter or Ayatollah Khomeini, changing hats as they fly, narrowly avoiding capture by galaxies.

We are all part of one another, and with luck the neutrino syndrome could make the universe collapse before things get too much worse. I am trying to negotiate for the film rights while there is time. In Jamaica, whence I had come, their concerns are more down-to-earth. When you are short

of food, questions about the origin of life seem less immediate. While nobody is starving, many of the traditional Jamaican dishes have to be modified to take account of the shortages. While I was there *The Daily Gleaner* published a page of recipes involving substitutions for scarce items. Saltfish, a Jamaican favourite, is imported from Canada and subject to the vagaries of available foreign exchange.

It can no longer be bought except on the black market. So the traditional dish of ackee and saltfish has to be made with ackee (a locally available tropical fruit) and something else—bacon, cardines, leftover chicken or pork.

Stewed peas, generally served with salt beef, salt pork and rice, now go with fresh meat (still in ample supply) and yam or breadfruit. One lady says turned cornmeal goes a long way if helpfully the children will eat it," says the report. With hurried goat, green banana or yam will take the place of rice. Pork can replace cooking oil and fresh milk with sugar (though sugar is scarce too) can substitute for imported condensed milk.

Jamaicans are enthusiastic gardeners, accustomed to using chemical fertilizers and insecti-

cides in abundance. These have also fallen victim to foreign exchange shortage and *Gleaner*. The *Gleaner's* gardening correspondent, was last week suggesting substitutes—natural compounds and manures.

And these difficulties Jamaicans are managing for the most part to stay cheerful. For in the island has always had a surprisingly lively theatrical tradition, and several current productions make fun of the parlous conditions.

There is a play called *Migration Fever*, satirizing the growing exodus to the gold-paved highways of the United States. A satirical review impersonates and pokes fun at the leaders of both main parties. This is why I do not subscribe to *News* sometimes expressed in America that Jamaica is moving in a dangerously leftist and totalitarian direction. In no totalitarian country—and in precious few Third World countries of any political persuasion—is there such freedom to comment and criticize, a freedom which Jamaicans make the most of.

One night I went to a debate at the university about the country's economic future, the panel consisting of two representatives of the left and two of the right. There was an

abundance of lively banté argument and laughter. (The last banté laughter came when Dr Carl Stone, a political scientist on the moderate right suggested legitimizing the export of marijuana and the allowing the proceeds from it to supplement the country's foreign exchange earnings.) The United States doesn't war our ganja (marijuana), to blo the minds of its citizens, that their problem he said.

Jamaicans take such delight in debate that it is hard to envisage any government moving to suppress it. That could only happen if the shortages and the gang violence which is accompanying it present election campaign become much worse.

My first and probably my last visit to Jamaica was to rescue the *Telham* hostages. I heard a Japanese Government spokesman quoted the other day as terming the attempt "incomprehensible". The word means. A couple of anti-pilots dive-bombing the embassy compound would have made it point much more neatly.

Michael Leapman

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ENTERTAINMENTS

S. United States at out price to standards just before performance

When telephoning use prefix 01 only outside London Metropolitan Area.

OPERA AND BALLET

COVENT GARDEN 8.30-10.06
(Gardens) Royal Opera House
SADLER'S WELLS ROYAL
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ENGLISH NATIONAL OPERA
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MUSIC WEEK AT THE WELLS
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CONCERTS

ALDERBURGH FESTIVAL 6-22 June
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THE ARTS

Book review

Coming to terms with Mother

Philip Howard

In our stridently feminist western world, Shanti Devi could be a creature from another planet. She was removed from school at the age of 14, so that her head would not be filled with ideas that would spoil her as a wife. When she was 17, and therefore considered by the neighbours almost past it, a marriage was arranged for her with a man she had never met. She spoke no English, had never been inside a shop, and was a superstitious and conventional Hindu.

She is now 72, and has grown into a typical Indian matriarch, self-effacing, convinced that a woman's place is in her husband's home, until he gets tired of her: how different, how very different, from the home lives of our own dear western women!

One of her eight children has now published her biography, *Mother* (Oxford, £6.95). You would expect such alien roots to be interesting only in an exotic way. But the author is Ved Mehta. So the story of Shanti Devi Mehta by her blind son is perceived and beautifully written, and has resonances for all of us about our mothers. In the same way Anna Karenina may superficially inform us about the way of life of the Russian upper classes in the 1870s. But essentially, from such things as the story of Kirya and Levin, we recognize certain truths about ourselves.

Shanti Devi Mehta's fifth child, Ved, was born in 1934. When he was four an attack of meningitis left him permanently blind. In those days schools for the blind in India were few and far between, and terrible. So, like his mother's, Ved's Indian education stopped at the primary level. But his father had an admirable, almost Jewish, conviction that education was the best inheritance



Family group, Lahore, 1935. Mamaji with Ved is second from left in middle row

that he could leave his children. At the age of 15 Ved was sent half way across the world to the Arkansas School for the Blind in Little Rock, where he learnt English for the first time, and much else; thence to Pomona College, where he was a brilliant student. It was only his eyes that were dim. At the age of 20, out of loneliness of being a blind Indian cut off from his roots, he wrote his first book of autobiography, *Face to Face*.

While at Balliol, he wrote an autobiographical sequel of 20,000 words. It was too long

for *The Observer*. But William Shaw, the editor of the *New Yorker*, looked at it, and published it. Since then Ved has been a staff writer for the great magazine, writing a stream of books and articles on everything from India to sociology, philosophy, and fiction.

At around the milestone of his fourth birthday, he decided that the best thing a writer can do is write the books that only he can write. It is difficult to see our parents as people. We spend our time seeing them as figures of

authority or folly, hearing their stories and watching their lives without understanding them. So Ved came to grips with his past by writing the life of his father, *Daddy*: the success story of a boy from an Indian village who came to the city, was sent to England to train as a doctor, and made good as a distinguished servant of the British Raj in its sunset.

Ved then decided that there was material for a contrapuntal account of his mother, and her roots in an Indian city. They are extremely different people. Father is extravert, an optimist,

and sunny. Mother is a pessimist from the dark side of the Indian tradition. Father was highly educated in England. Mother was uneducated, grudgingly, all the time it is easier for a man to confront the truth about his father than his mother.

Both books stop at the point when the infant Ved is struck blind; and are intended as the cornerstones of the autobiographical books that he intends to write over the next 30 years, as the spirit moves him. Both books, and his recent enchanting television programme *Chachaji*, concerning the poor relation of the Mehta family, are about a strange alien world, haunted by death and tragedy, resignation, comedy and love.

But both books are rich with universal truths about family life that are as applicable to Tootsie as to the Mehtas. Ved knows that it is no longer fashionable to be interested in people's families. It is considered bad form in America to ask what somebody's father did. But to me people simply do not make sense unless one knows their biographies and backgrounds. Whatever our race, we all eventually have to face our mothers and fathers, the trauma of separation from them, and there are certain universal resonances about families, whether they are Indian or English. The nuclear family is under threat of dissolution. In it is still the fundamental social institution. I am interested in the play of character, in the compromises and tricks that allow both partners in a marriage not only to survive, but to flourish.

All happy families resemble one another, each unhappy family is unhappy in its own way. The Mehta's extraordinary and happy family is a joy to read about a rising and moving and instructive echoes for all of us of woman born.

Los Angeles Philharmonic/Giulini Festival Hall/Radio 3

William Mann

Since last the Los Angeles Philharmonic was amongst us, they have acquired a new music director, Carlo Maria Giulini, and some impressive records have augured well for the partnership. Now on a four-week tour of Europe, they began in London, and will return on May 25 (Jupiter and Pathétique), before leaving this continent for home.

The mainstay of this first concert was Beethoven's *Eroica* Symphony. Giulini projects it at fullest stature, all four movements at steady tempo that are seldom pushed forward more than likely to be pulled out. In the first *Allegro* this brought extra pathos, even to the principal theme, though the movement as a whole (like the whole symphony in this reading) were the heroic Beethoven style, aspired to by many, but rarely achieved.

Giulini repeated the exposition, not only restoring the movement to its proper, huge scale, but by a greater tension and uniformity of the music, as if putting Mother's soul (only part of it) under the microscope. It was not really Mahler, more like a Ken Russell version, though more musical, and superbly played.

He had begun just so, though in complete romantic style, with the first movement of Mahler's tenth symphony. Only a few days ago we heard the whole work in the same hall, the initial *Adagio* an eloquent incipit to a larger statement. Giulini squeezed it for bel canto and melodic effect, as if putting Mother's soul (only part of it) under the microscope. It was not really Mahler, more like a Ken Russell version, though more musical, and superbly played.

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New Printing House Square, London, WC1X 8EZ. Telephone: 01-837 1234

PRESIDENT TITO'S LEGACY

President Tito's death closes a chapter in European history. He was the last of the great wartime leaders, a man of extraordinary stature whose influence spread far beyond the borders of Yugoslavia. He laid the foundations of this influence by pulling together an effective resistance movement in a deeply divided country under Nazi occupation and winning over Allied support from the royalist forces to his own. He then forged this resistance movement into a national government which, after only three years, felt strong enough within itself and in the country to break with Stalin, a move which required enormous courage and great shock waves through the communist world. He built on his success by dedicating himself to non-alignment as a political principle and a world movement. At the same time he led his country not only over an obstacle course of political and economic difficulties but also through a process of continuous constitutional experiment in the struggle to evolve a unique form of self-managing socialism. It was as much as anything this ability to continue thinking and re-thinking that gave lasting strength to his leadership.

Of course there was a dark side too—the brutal slaughter of opponents after the war, the persecution of his old comrade Milovan Djilas, a high-handed

way with other forms of dissent, and perhaps a tendency to keep the system too long in tutelage. One day the myths will be stripped away and the Yugoslavs themselves will be able to examine the human dimensions of the man who led them for so long. But this is unlikely to destroy his stature altogether. Faults and all, he belonged among the great men of his time.

What now? The system will have to find a new form of legitimacy based neither on the partisan movement nor on the authority of one man but on its own effectiveness, popular support and ability to evolve. Without his father it will be forced to grow up and take responsibility for itself. If it rises to this responsibility it will be the better for it. If it does not the result could be disastrous, for Yugoslavia's internal cohesion and external consistency are linchpins of the east-west balance.

At the moment the auguries look reasonably reassuring. The country is well prepared for the transition. The machinery has been checked and oiled, the men prepared. There are no signs of significant organized opposition. With all its problems Yugoslavia does not seem to be yearning for any radical change of direction, either internally or externally. Nor is there much danger that the Russians will launch a direct attack on Yugoslavia, clearly though they would like to bring it back under control. They

would have to fight hard, and the risks would be too great.

Trouble if it comes will come slowly. Yugoslavia is still, on one level, a patchwork of ancient nations that are easily stirred by old passions and riven by economic inequalities. Its system strikes a precarious balance between central and local authority and depends a lot on the cohesion of the party, which is unsure of its role. The economy is under stress, with a high foreign debt, unemployment, and areas of conspicuous inefficiency. It is also more dependent on Comecon than is comfortable. Many want further liberalization of the economy but fear it could bring greater inequalities in the distribution of wealth. Many want faster political liberalization but fear it could unleash national rivalries. And all the time the Russians and their allies will be waiting to drive wedges into any cracks that open up.

Yugoslavia will therefore feel itself under close scrutiny in coming months. From the western side this scrutiny will be sympathetic and supportive. The European Community has belatedly found its way to a helpful agreement. There are limits to the military and political underpinning which the west can give without seeming to infringe Yugoslavia's non-alignment but it can make clear that it regards the legacy of President Tito as an essential part of the existing European order.

NO CAUSE FOR ALARM

A year is a better test than a hundred days, but it can still be a trap for commentators as much as for governments. It is not enough for a new government's policies to have their full effect, especially with an administration that has set itself the ambitious task of changing the direction in which official policy has been moving throughout almost the entire postwar period. Neither the full pain nor the potential benefits of Mrs Thatcher's strategy are yet in evidence.

What matters at this stage in political terms is whether the Government have encountered such opposition from the public as to threaten either their majority in the remainder of this Parliament, through the loss of by-elections, or their own self-confidence. No administration that takes office with an overall majority of forty-three needs to worry about its numerical position in Parliament. For Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues it is the psychological effect of public support, or its withdrawal, that is critical. From that standpoint it was convenient that last week's local elections came almost exactly a year after the Government took office.

In one sense it is always undesirable to resist the temptation to treat local election results as a kind of large but primitive opinion poll on the popularity of the government of the day. Such an approach tends to diminish local politics, which should ideally turn on the policies of the candidates

themselves and their groups on each council. There are more or less significant issues at stake in every local election, and it is not healthy for them to be determined by largely irrelevant factors; in particular, it is unhealthy for local politicians to see that this is so. But the evidence regularly suggests that the voters themselves generally see the matter in exactly this light. Last week's district elections show the trend.

It is worth comparing the voting with the results of a Gallup poll for the BBC, reported in *The Times* last week. Those replying to the opinion poll most often put the need to control the rates at the top of their list of election issues. Little more than half as many put public spending cuts first, (presumably implying that they opposed the cuts, not that they wanted more). This year the choice between these two contrasted objectives was exceptionally sharp. Conservative councils have on average managed to keep their increases in spending down to the level menacingly recommended by Mr Heseltine. Labour councils, including many in areas with no claims to exceptional social problems, have often far exceeded that level.

But it is practically impossible to discern any reflection of the opinions given to the Gallup poll in the actual elections. The Labour vote was buoyant in districts like Wolverhampton and Newcastle upon Tyne with some

of the highest rate increases in Britain, and in Birmingham, where the leader of the Labour group promised or threatened to restore service cuts even if it meant levying a supplementary rate later in the year. The Conservatives lost Preston, where they had actually reduced the rates this year.

The swing does not indicate any acute loss of support for the Conservatives. The seats were last fought at a time when Tory popularity was exceptionally high: there are few signs of Labour gaining the upper hand in councils where the Tories have traditionally been dominant. The results confirm that special factors must have been at work in the South East by-election. The Liberal party can be only modestly satisfied with its performance—it can normally rely on doing at least as well as this when a Conservative administration is losing adherents who cannot bring themselves to vote Labour. The failure of the Scottish Nationalists to hold onto many of the seats that they won in 1976-7 at the height of their success confirms that they are suffering from more than a cyclical loss of popularity.

Altogether, therefore, the Government have emerged reasonably intact from the most serious test of national opinion since the election. This can be no guarantee of public support through the difficult months ahead. But the response has not yet been such as to cause ministers to lose their nerve.

better, it would be easy to think that Saatchi and Saatchi's public relations had been behind the presentation.

It all has the marks of slogan thinking, which probably explains why the best insights into the Prime Minister were found in David Eddle's interview in the *Daily Mail*, in the Jimmy Young radio show, where Mrs Thatcher spoke of her "little secret" in the Lincolnshire ham of Grantham, where I grew up, and in the Finkin Street Westleyan circuit had given Alfred Roberts as a man of mark and name.

While Margaret slaved at her books, in the light blue blouse and dark blue serge gym slip of the girls' High School, I took advice from a senior reporter that this approved cliché for Councillor Roberts was "golden tongued", a compliment that nearly 50 years ago could not have been paid to any of his municipal colleagues. Local preaching on the Finkin Street Westleyan circuit had given Alfred Roberts a dexterity with words, as well as his strict, though not bigoted private and public principles.

That shared background explains how I came to introduce Mrs Thatcher at a private luncheon when she announced she would stand against Mr Heath and all corners for the Conservative leadership in 1975. I remember saying then that on St Peter's Hill, in Grantham, two railt rails of turf overlooked by the railway station Town Hall, there stood two statues: one of Sir Isaac Newton, who went to the local boys' school, and the other of a member of the Dysart family, who had been Liberal MP in the nineteenth century.

I predicted that one day there would be a third statue memorializing the United Kingdom's first woman Prime Minister and the first home-born Granthamian of any considerable national achievement. Understandably, then, I have followed most of what has been written and said to mark the first anniversary of Mrs Thatcher's arrival at No 10 on May 4, 1979. She has been shown as Britain's Joan of Arc and as Britain's General De Gaulle: and if we did not know

supremacy of the State over the individual. She profoundly believes she has seen the dangers of creeping socialism, whereby with Conservative support the economy came to depend upon the State as Grand Almoner (to use the phrase of *One Nation*, published in the early 1930s).

Turn back to *One Nation*. There are the names of the young and rising men of the time: Cub Alport, Gilbert Lomgden, Robert Carr, Iain Macleod, Richard Fort, Angus Maude, Edward Heath, Enoch Powell, and John Rodgers. Under the editorship of Macleod and Maude they were writing "A Tory Approach to Social Problems", and at such the same time Geoffrey Howe and other young men were forming the Bow Group to win back the universities for Conservatism. Peter Thorneycroft was one of a Parliamentary group that tried to rid the party of the name of *One Nation* because the party was the country wanted not to conserve but to change.

There were all men of the 1930s, or less than 1945, and the marks to this day. Mrs Thatcher is not one of them and never will be. She wants a political counter-revolution drawing its strength from the education of the people in the facts of national economic life.

She has faith in the English people (perhaps I should say the British people) and has no doubt that she can convince them that they must rely on themselves and not on the State, on their work and not on alms. She is closer to the people than her party critics.

Yet the *One Nation* group and its ideas are not dead, they provide the respectable counterpoint in the speeches and writings of Sir Ian Gilmour, Julian Critchley, Peter Tapsell, Kenneth Baker, Christopher Patten, Nicholas Scott, and others. Jim Prior and friends show the local election, including last week's Cabinet. Edward Heath waits in the wings for a call.

There can never be any harm in Mrs Thatcher's forcing what Harold Wilson called creative revision on the Cabinet and her party. Every recent election, including last week's local government election, shows that there is not one nation but two—north and south, and England against Wales and Scotland. But the Prime Minister is surely right to believe that the Disraelian concept of one nation now needs to be achieved by another way than endless Conservative retreat.

Iran setback to Carter policies

From Mrs Leslie Tenley

Sir: Most persons of even mildly left-wing political views whose letters on Iran have appeared in *The Times* have excoriated President Carter. He is, it seems, so tainted by his predecessors' crimes in Iran that his demands for the unconditional release of the hostages cannot be regarded as fully justified. America is reaping what she has sown, and Mr Carter ought to recognize this.

But these correspondents have missed an important, and tragic, aspect of the crisis. Mr Carter has been considering the possibility of some change in the Third World than any of his predecessors. He has wrought immense changes in the policy of the United States towards Latin America—only compare his policy towards Nicaragua and El Salvador with the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic or Mr Nixon's aid to those who wished to overthrow the Allende government in Chile. He has demonstrated greater support for black majority rule in Zimbabwe and South Africa than his predecessors. He has moved further from reflexive support for Israel than any Democratic president before him, and, while sensitive to Israel's security needs, has recognized the legitimacy of Palestinian demands for autonomy. He has established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China. He has staked his political reputation on a peaceful settlement of the Panama Canal treaties. He has spoken out for human rights in an unprecedented way, and has received into the United States a startlingly large number of Third World refugees. He seems to be little hindered by any weight of intellectual understanding, and worse still, little bothered by that inconvenience, better, I would think, the novice rider led by the horse than the expert who seems to be riding better still, another rider entirely.

Yours sincerely,

MARK A. TAPLIN,

Neuquén Court Mawr,

Warrington,

Cheshire.

Dated April 29.

From Mrs M. Lloyd

Sir: Being a Conservative opinionist I find myself unable to agree with you that there is "no chance of regaining Iran as an ally". I entirely agree with Lieutenant-General Sir John Gubb (April 23) and in my view the Islamic revolution, given time, is capable of producing a regime once more in sympathy with the Western alliance.

However, this possibility will have faded beyond recall once Soviet forces are installed in Iran. How could the European Community have contemplated not only abandoning Iran to its fate, but also still pushing it straight into the arms of the Soviet bloc? The threat to the Gulf oil ports is, as Mr Healey points out in today's (April 25) issue of *Financial Weekly*, at least as dangerous to the world as Sarajevo.

That is what President Carter seems determined to deny us. If he insists on acting in an immature, half-brained and irrational way without consulting the United States Senate, then we must not only say so but also send him our best wishes on his diplomatic as fast as possible. Lord Cerrington has already achieved the impossible once, and as we all should know there is one with whom all things are possible.

Yours faithfully,

GWYNETH LLOYD,

Larkdown,

Fort Road,

Godalming,

Surry.

April 25.

From Mr S. S. Curry

Sir, Professor Ions (April 26) refers in his letter to the "threat of military force by a superpower against a puny Arab republic"; presumably he is referring to Iran.

The professor should know better. He has failed to take the fully common to many people, including the media, that Iran is an Arab country: its people are of course Aryen and not Semitic.

Yours faithfully,

S. S. CURRY,

1 Ayrlands Rise,

Stammore,

Middlesex.

May 1.

From Mr Mark Taplin

Sir: Mr Brogan (article, April 29) rightly attributes the ineptitude and ineffectiveness of the Carter administration's foreign policy efforts to Mr Carter's "ceaseless vacillation", but in implying that the United States Government is taking similar action in respect of embassy staff illegally detained in Iran?

Yours faithfully,

RALPH GARTENBERG,

Governe Cottage,

Cuckoo Hill Drive,

Pinner,

Middlesex.

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OBITUARY

MARSHAL TITO

Communist leader who won independence for his country and defied Stalin

Marshal Tito, President of Yugoslavia, died yesterday at the age of 87.

Whatever judgment historians will pass on the life and significance of Josip Broz Tito, his name will go down as the first communist ruler to have defied Stalin and to have established his country's independence at a time when throughout eastern Europe, communist regimes bowed to Soviet supremacy and Moscow was installing, dismissing and purging their governments at its will. Titoism or "national communism" will for ever remain linked with his personality and, though it will be disputed to what extent it influenced subsequent evolutions and upheavals within the communist world, one thing can already be ascertained: Tito's expulsion from the Cominform in 1948—the first crack in Stalin's monolithic empire—his firm insistence that a communist cannot be asked to place loyalty to Russia higher than to his own country, marked the turning point in the post-war history of communism.

A staunch communist—perhaps one of the few remaining idealists—trained and hardened by the Comintern yet deeply rooted in his own country, Tito never hesitated when Yugoslavia's independence was at stake. Whether it was as "Walter" of the Comintern, obeying the quietest working in the shadow of Dimitroff, Pieck and Togliatti, a fanatic representative of an insignificant party—two Yugoslavs, three factions as Stalin once described it—or as the leader of his partisan guerrilla forces, or later still as the ruler of his country, Tito never lost touch with his soil and his people.

While other European communists, as he so contemptuously used to say, sat in Kuybyshev waiting to be installed in power by Russian bayonets, Tito won his country's independence and emerged from the war himself an internationally recognized figure owing "gratitude" to nobody. It was this, the time struggle for independence, which more than anything else shaped his character and determination to be master in his own house. Once he emerged victorious from the war, he was not content to be proud of his country's and its people's achievement and courage, he could not agree to accept domination and the tutelage of others even if this meant domination by the first country of socialism. Whether one agreed or disagreed with his policies—whether one was his zealous admirer or his bitter opponent—one had to recognize that he was one of the most colorful personalities who had stepped onto the postwar political scene. He lived ostentatiously—his diamond ring, his expensive uniforms, his love for expensive cloth, for flashy cars and speedboats, his much-praised character as his political shrewdness, his courage, his faith in the doctrine and his simplicity and loyalty to that small number of people with whom he shared the hardships of the past.

Establishment of the federation

In a country which came out of the war deeply divided by national, religious, and historical antagonisms, he represented the only true Yugoslav.

More than anything else, he saw his role as bringing about a new unity of Yugoslavia's diverse peoples and nations, uniting of equal partners, jointly responsible for their common destiny. For a while he believed that all national groups would merge into one Yugoslav nation and saw the future in a kind of supra-national integration. But he was a realist and though he may have been disillusioned and deeply perturbed by the emotional tensions this idea provoked in latter years he realized that given the multinational context and historical background Yugoslavia's future was in a looser federation guaranteeing each nation full equality and recognizing national individuality and cultural distinctiveness.

By reunifying the Serbs and the Croats, by establishing a Macedonian republic and giving Macedonia national recognition which the old monarchy deprived them of, he built more solid foundations for a Yugoslav future. A strong, central, he turned about his collaborators, young and old. A Croat by birth, he rose above his national origins to be the only personality beyond dispute.

His Yugoslavia was not dominated by any particular ethnic group and though it may be argued that it was dominated by communist dictatorship it covered an amazing distance towards a more humane more tolerant society; from a single party totalitarianism to the rule of a closely knit circle towards the rule of institutions; from centralized associated but autonomous states; from conventional communism to a unique system

of checks and balances; from unconditional discipline to unity in diversity. By trial and error, search and experiment, Tito built the foundations of a modern Yugoslav state.

Born in May, 1892, in the small village of Kumrovac in Croatia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, one of a large and poor family—out of 12 children only seven survived—Tito's childhood education and early life were typical of that of thousands of his countrymen. He, too, after elementary education, left home at the early age of 15 to find work and opportunity because the land could not feed them all.

While working in the Dalmatian plant outside Vienna he was enlisted into the Austrian army. He was a Croat with no particular feeling of loyalty for the empire, yet in later years when Tito was firmly in power one could detect that typical nostalgia that generations who had lived under the Austro-Hungarian empire had for those "good old days" of ordered calm existence, of Viennese waltzes and the "old Franz Joseph". Many of his hobbies—shooting, his fondness for Viennese music and other ideas of relaxation, once they were within his grasp—reflected an inner satisfaction at accomplishing and enjoying an early dream.

On the Carpathian front the young sergeant-major of the Austrian Army Josip Broz was wounded and taken prisoner by the Russians. He emerged from his year later to hear that revolution had broken out in Moscow. In October, 1917, already a determined supporter of the Bolsheviks, he enrolled in the Red Army and remained another three years in Russia. It was in Omsk that he encountered Palageya Byelostova, whom he later married and took back to his country. Of the three children from his marriage only one, his son Zarko survived. When in 1920 he and his wife left Russia he was already a convinced communist.

The elections in the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes as Yugoslavia was then called, reflected the general European mood and brought almost 20 communist deputies into the first Assembly. The young Communist Party, established in 1919 rose to 50,000 members, joined the Comintern and remodelled its programme on the Russian pattern.

Young Broz, of course, joined it immediately upon his return. In 1921, when the Government of the assassination of the Minister of Interior, outlawed the Communist Party and expelled all the communist deputies from the Assembly, he began the career of an underground revolutionist, which ended only a quarter of a century later when he emerged victoriously at the head of his army and party.

He worked as a disciplined organizer and agitator both in establishing party cells and in the white union movement. By 1924 he had become secretary of the Zagreb branch of the metalworkers' union and in 1928 his name was already being noted in Moscow. In a letter to the Comintern, the young secretary of the Zagreb branch announced the leadership of his party for factionalism and inactivity and, soon after, this leadership was swept away and a new central committee appointed. Stalin's rule of communist nations, Josip Broz showed that same uncompromising determination that Stalin was looking for in search of new, unwavering, executors of his orders. Tito was coming to be known and people like Josip Broz soon saw their time arrive.

Soon, his activity was interrupted by arrest, trial and a five-year sentence. Released in 1931, he found the Yugoslav Communist Party once more in a state of crisis, its leadership fled in Vienna, internal strife raging anew and membership falling to barely 3,000. He himself was sent to Vienna to establish a link between the exile leadership and the party organization inside the country. He was 42 when he met Milan Gorkic, the party secretary, and when he became a member of the Central Committee.

Back in the country at clandestine meetings he began to meet the new generations of Yugoslav communists, people who later on helped him reach the very top. When later, now a full member of the Politburo, he was leaving for Moscow he had already weakened the position of the emigre leadership and opened the way for himself to the very top by facing around himself devoted followers and an active organization inside the country.

As rapporteur on Yugoslavia in the Comintern, "Comrade Walter", as he was now to be known, worked in the Lux hotel, a lonely enough existence for the fringe of a party organization where the Yugoslav Communist Party amounted to next to nothing and where its internal squabbles were the subject of contemptuous jokes. His first marriage, meanwhile, after years of separation had broken up.

When in 1936, Gorkic, the first secretary of the Yugoslav Communist Party, called a meeting without the prior knowledge of the Comintern and the entire Yugoslav Politburo was summoned to Moscow and dismissed, Comrade Walter was appointed organizer

tional secretary. From the first there were sharp divergences and personal antagonism between him and Gorkic—between an intellectual and a fanatic proletarian—and it was obvious that it was only a matter of time before he would replace the latter at the head of the party.

Though very little is known of Tito's role in the liquidation of the old Yugoslav communist guard, or of his direct responsibility some years ago reminding of that period he said that only by "keeping to myself did I then escape Stalin's knife".

The years that followed were years of clandestine meetings and travel back and forth across European frontiers, false names, false passports, underground work. When in 1937 Gorkic was arrested in Moscow and he and most Yugoslavs working in the Comintern perished in Stalin's purge, Tito was entrusted by Wilhelm Pieck, head of the Comintern's Balkan Secretariat with the leadership of the Yugoslav communist party. There was no doubt that from Stalin's point of view he was an ideal, disciplined, fanatical communist. The man who would obey orders without question and hesitation.

Early in 1938 Tito returned to Yugoslavia. He had seen the beginning of the dangers of political exile and so he started to pick new men with practical experience in the country, most of whom he knew from prison. By 1940 communist membership had risen to 12,000. In true Stalinist fashion he purged the dissidents and soon achieved complete "unity", the monolithic party of iron discipline.

When in the summer of 1941 Tito issued a proclamation calling for insurrection against the Germans, it was still as a disciplined communist, obeying the Comintern's orders. Russia had to be assisted and he was responding to her call.

It was during the war, however, that Tito first disregarded Moscow's orders and that his disillusionment began. While Moscow, for reasons of its relations with the Allies, wished Tito to give the latter no cause for suspicion, and to avoid any hint of a fight against the Germans and not engage in civil war with the aim of establishing communist rule, Tito's reply was to send a defiant telegram. "If you cannot help us, be hinder us", he wrote to Stalin then.

The first strictly military recognition of Tito came from the Allies at Teheran and by the summer of 1943 the first military supplies began to arrive for his partisan forces. Feeling considerably strengthened, on November 29, he convened an assembly of the Liberation Council which transferred the powers of the Royal Government in London to the Yugoslav National Committee of Liberation and banned King Peter from returning to his country until the Yugoslav people were able to decide what form of government they wanted. On that day too the title of Marshal of Yugoslavia was conferred on him, and, for the first time since he left prison 10 years before, his real name was publicly revealed.

So, for the first time since he became Comintern's trusted agent, he confronted Stalin with a fait accompli. Stalin, Manuilski told the Yugoslavs in Moscow, was "quite unusually angry" at Tito's "stab in the back".

In 1944, under strong Allied pressure, King Peter finally invited Dr Shubashich, one of the leaders of the Croatian peasant party, to form a government in exile with the task of reaching agreement with Tito.

When finally agreement was reached, Tito had all the cards. In August, 1944, respondent in his new role as Marshal of Yugoslavia, he arrived in Paris for a meeting with Winston Churchill and, having obtained the highest honours from western allies, he, unexpectedly flew off to Moscow to meet Stalin. The Marshal, Churchill wrote, had "levanted" from the island.

After the war Tito immediately began to consolidate his power. Agreement with the Allies over the future shape of Yugoslav government soon became a worthless document and the coalition cabinet of Tito's communists and Dr Shubashich's exile government broke up on the eve of elections when all opposition was ruthlessly pushed out of the way. On November 29, 1945, the new Constituent Assembly formally abolished the monarchy and proclaimed the federal republic of six constituent republics and two autonomous regions on the Soviet pattern.

There followed the liquidation of all remaining political opponents. General Mihajlovic, traitorously captured in a fox hole in Bosnia, was sentenced to death and executed. In June, 1946, having failed to obtain his support, the leader of the Roman Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac was sentenced to 16 years of imprisonment on charges of collaboration with the Quisling Croatian regime. It was against this background, with the country devastated, the population hungry and cowed, the prisons filled above capacity and the peasants driven into collective farms that the break with Moscow occurred in 1948. Furthermore, Yugoslav relations with the West could not have been worse as American air-



craft were shot down and Tito was keeping up pressures and threatening Trieste.

When on June 28, 1948, the Czech newspaper *Rude Pravo* published the text of the Cominform resolution expelling the Yugoslav Communist Party, very few people could fully grasp, or believe, what was actually happening. Accusations and condemnation of the Yugoslav communists ranged from home to foreign policy, from being "hostile to Russia" to "restoring capitalism in their country. The Yugoslav communists, it said, had suffered from ambition, arrogance and conceit.

Trouble was brewing earlier. Soviet experts and advisers had been infiltrated in all walks of life, yet Tito's police kept a close watch on their activity. Already in 1947 Soviet and Czech deliveries were being slowed down, so that when on March 18, 1948, the Soviet Government suddenly withdrew its military advisers on the ground that they were being treated with suspicion, Tito's policy was already being tested. Tito's reply was to send a defiant telegram. "If you cannot help us, be hinder us", he wrote to Stalin then.

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power be maintained, and once again having proof of Titoism's disruptive influence, Khrushchev demanded that in exchange for ideological recognition of Yugoslavia's "specific road", Tito would rejoin the block.

It was then, realizing that Khrushchev was not prepared to work out a new relationship, that Tito began to concentrate more and more on the third world. It was there, he decided, that he would find the international scene. And, it was there that Yugoslavia has a role to play.

Since 1957, as his conviction in the non-aligned alternative began to take shape, he has travelled extensively to Asia and Africa, corresponded with old and new leaders, worked tirelessly to unite the non-aligned front.

His firm reiteration of his position and of his intention to remain outside any commitments, voiced so clearly at the congress of his party in 1958, meant, in fact, that despite improved relations with the communist block, he had rejected pressure and arguments in favour of rejoining the fold. Thus, though he remained a convinced communist, and though he had never given up his belief in the "equal" interpreter and practitioner of Marxism, or an influence in the communist world, independence for him had become a moral imperative and he was prepared to relinquish neither one nor the other.

Representing a country for centuries divided between east and west—between Catholicism and Islam—Tito was deeply shocked by his dismissal, but whatever doubts he may have had about Brezhnev seemed to be dispelled during his 12-day visit to Russia in the summer of 1965. It was then, in fact, that the Yugoslav-Soviet relations seemed to have reached the peak.

At home the fundamental dilemma—how to open the party to some form of internal democracy without weakening its political monopoly, how to put real meaning into the system of economic self-management without weakening central political authority, remained.

While in 1953 controversy was still largely academic, whether the party should guide or rule, whether "democratic centralism" was compatible within a society based upon self-management became more concrete. In 1955, Djilas was expelled from the leadership for having expounded such views. In 1964 an increasing number of party ideologists were suggesting precisely the same. Yugoslavia's proud innovation, the system of economic self-management inaugurated by Tito in 1950 as an antidote to Soviet "state capitalism", was beginning to affect the party itself.

Divided between those who favoured a far-reaching decentralization and the centralists, the party was heading towards a crisis and once again Tito resolved it by keeping to the middle course. National rivalries which, although more economic than ethnic, were constant reminders of Yugoslavia's delicate problem, and while Tito's moral authority within the party and among communists were a source of grave concern, Tito was well aware that their disappearance depended as much on his ability to narrow the gap between rich and poor, as to rely increasingly on the new generation. Thus, when at the party congress in 1964 he brought into the central committee a large number of younger cadres he was not only breaking away from the old party hierarchy but also preparing the way to succession.

Two years later he opened the way to a more vigorous economic decentralization by ending the reforms and precipitating the downfall of one of his oldest and closest friends and collaborators, Vice-President Aleksandar Rankovic, the head of the powerful secret police, and who had been regarded as the most likely successor. With the dramatic session on his Brioni island in July, 1966, the purge of the predominant Serbian secret police was set in motion and liberalization was given a tremendous push.

The Titoist side with the reforms showed that he had lost none of his political shrewdness and was aware of prevailing trends. But he was also aware of the danger should the party lose control of the trend. Hence, his subsequent interventions, whenever, in his opinion, the party succumbed to liberal influence.

It was only to be expected that the new Czech leadership in the pride of resurgent freedom should look towards Tito, the man who held out against Stalin and won. He was invited by Mr Dubcek in February 1968 but while expressing his willingness to meet the new Czech leader shrewdly advised him "to take care of the Russians first".

In the event it was not until early August that he arrived in Prague to be given a spectacular welcome, a triumphal visit which may have precipitated Moscow's decision to stop the spread of contagious heresy.

enough to preserve an alliance of autonomous parties was contradicted by events.

In spite of his animosity to China, which continued to encourage Tito's anti-Titoist belligerence, and in spite of his close personal relationship with Khrushchev, Tito continued to oppose his concept for a world conference. What the communists needed, he repeatedly stressed, was not a new set of international rules but a "comradely" debate on inter-party differences.

The early sixties saw a great improvement in relations with Russia and her European allies and Tito's travels to the world which he had been barred from for so many years were again resumed. Yet although party relations were now fully restored, inside this new "commonwealth" of Marxist states Tito continued to occupy a special position—an independent, formally uncommitted first cousin rather than a full "brother".

He realized that improved relations with Russia called for new efforts to strengthen his standing in the west and when with Brezhnev, not to interfere with Yugoslav affairs. Thus, when in the spring of 1974 a group of Yugoslavs made an abortive attempt to form an underground party, it provided new evidence that Soviet intentions had not changed since Stalin attempted to subvert the Yugoslav party and bring Tito down. Ever since, in spite of Soviet reassurances, Tito kept up the campaign.

A great believer in personal diplomacy, and, furthermore, a personal friend of Khrushchev, Tito was deeply shocked by his dismissal, but whatever doubts he may have had about Brezhnev seemed to be dispelled during his 12-day visit to Russia in the summer of 1965. It was then, in fact, that the Yugoslav-Soviet relations seemed to have reached the peak.

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so-called higher interests of socialism are at stake, convinced him that Russia's expansionist aims extended to Yugoslavia too. The repercussion of the Czech tragedy had been so profound that in spite of subsequent conciliatory gestures—Mr Gromyko's visit in 1969 and Mr Brezhnev's in the autumn of 1971—and in spite of continued efforts initiated by Moscow to regain lost ground, he remained aloof.

Externally, the new conflict with Moscow accelerated Yugoslavia's orientation towards West Europe, though Tito's creed. A journey across West Europe, meetings with Brandt and Pompidou earlier in 1971 were followed by visits to Washington, Ottawa and London, with brief stops in India and Iran in between.

The visit by Soviet party secretary Leonid Brezhnev to Tito had lost all illusion that Moscow would honour the agreements he signed with Khrushchev and afterwards with Brezhnev, not to interfere with Yugoslav affairs. Thus, when in the spring of 1974 a group of Yugoslavs made an abortive attempt to form an underground party, it provided new evidence that Soviet intentions had not changed since Stalin attempted to subvert the Yugoslav party and bring Tito down. Ever since, in spite of Soviet reassurances, Tito kept up the campaign.

The end of the liberal experiment

Internally, democratization was pushing ahead and the battle waged in the late sixties was decided in favour of liberalization in the early seventies. But the trend towards democracy, which brought constitutions, republics to the fore of events, released national emotions, increasing the temperature of national tensions in the worse crisis Tito's regime had faced since the war, it was at the height of this turbulent sea, the federal government paralyzed and the party divided along national lines, that Tito decided to set up a presidency representative of all national groups to which, his powers would be shared. Several leaders have had scant luck at choosing their successors. Tito made it plain that what he tried to do was create a durable system to take his place.

A surge of nationalist-minded communist leadership of Croatia in 1971 was followed by the purge of the Serbian leaders, the former for nationalism, the latter for liberalism.

To his survivor of the persecution of Churchill, Stalin, de Gaulle, Nehru and Mao, Tito relished the glow of international esteem. He was recognized throughout the world as an elder statesman but in playing his role he was also a man of enormous personal prestige to reinforce Yugoslavia's international standing, and thus also her independence throughout his closing years. He continued his foreign voyages in 1976 with a note of warning that the part of President Tito's efforts to make clear to the Russians that Yugoslavia intended to remain non-aligned and independent, but also to issue a note of warning that Yugoslavia would not succumb to pressure or tolerate interference and would fight, if necessary, with him at the head or after his death.

Relations with Russia remained cool and curbing throughout this period with sporadic strains and tensions coming into the open and President Tito's oft-repeated warning that "we are all afraid" was always intended for Kremlin ears. In 1977, as he returned home from Peking to issue a note of warning that Yugoslavia would not succumb to pressure or tolerate interference and would fight, if necessary, with him at the head or after his death.

She simply disappeared from the public eye, leaving every body guessing whether personal or political reasons were the cause. Tito was seriously concerned over the threat the non-aligned movement was facing from Castro's attempt to place it under Soviet patronage, and was largely due to his personal appearance at the Havana aligned conference in 1973, that this attempt was frustrated. He journeyed 10,000 kilometres to Havana to confront the challenge and frustrate the Soviet plan and said, returning home that "despite attempts to give non-alignment a different light, it remains free from blocs and ideologies".

By then, he had travelled a long way in the course of 35 years when his voyage began in 1944, as a partisan leader. In the span of time he had spent altogether 750 hours in the air, covered all the continents except Australia, and visited all European countries except neighbouring Albania.

Leading article, page 2

HOME NEWS

CBI president urges employers to help staff attend work during May 14 day of action

By Donald MacIntyre
Labour Reporter

The Confederation of British Industry yesterday called on employers to do everything they could to help staff attend work during May 14 day of action. It urged employers to "encourage employees to turn up for work as usual" on May 14 despite the TUC call for "mass protests against government policies".

Sir John Gresham, president of the CBI, denounced the TUC day of action as "unwelcome, wasteful and irrelevant". He added: "For the many millions of people who want to go to work and who are in factories, shops and offices going it would be more appropriate to call it a day of folly".

The CBI statement was issued on the eve of an attempt by Express Newspapers to obtain a High Court injunction restraining four printing unions from preventing the production of national newspapers on May 14 as part of the TUC protest.

MPs to visit riot area for evidence

By Our Political Correspondent
A committee of the House of Commons investigating the question of "racial disadvantage" is to visit the St Paul's district of Bristol on May 22 to take evidence in a local hall from people living in the district about the riot on April 2.

Flaws seen in propaganda idea

By Our Political Correspondent
Mrs Thatcher's views on the need to initiate a massive propaganda campaign of a kind we have never known before in this country were criticised yesterday by television and broadcasting experts.

In a radio interview on Sunday the Prime Minister said to take evidence in a local hall from people living in the district about the riot on April 2.

The BBC's approach had been to tell the truth as that the Russian listeners were aware of the British attitudes to current events and its values, and to make sure they knew the reaction of the British Government to events such as the invasion of Afghanistan.

Pay dispute stops London newspapers

By Our Labour Staff
National newspapers did not reach some newsagents in London and parts of the south-east yesterday because of a dispute involving about 3,000 wholesale staff over payments for Bank holiday working.

A year of disaster, Mr Callaghan says

By George Clark
Political Correspondent
Britain's economic recovery does not rest in the Treasury's manipulation of the borrowing requirement or in the Bank of England's attempt at monetary controls, Mr James Callaghan, the Leader of the Opposition, told a Labour rally at Carlisle yesterday.

Mr Callaghan said that the country would plunge business into the most dangerous cash crisis since the Second World War. Small firms would suffer first, and worst of all...

Whitehall brief: Institute advances policies in stark contrast to Civil Service submissions

Anti-quango crusaders out to break icons of consensus

By Peter Hennessy
A few months after Mrs Margaret Thatcher took office, a permanent secretary quite favourably "disposed" towards her summed up Whitehall's early impression of the Prime Minister by saying: "She comes into the category of politicians who reach their conclusions without looking at the evidence, but she will look at the evidence provided it is put in front of her very forcibly."

Such a Prime Minister, as her advisers and the Government's research councils have found out, can be very disquieting about the central fruits of academic and economic analysis.

Of one "think tank", however, Mrs Thatcher has spoken warmly in the House of Commons. It is the Adam Smith Institute, a small Anglo-American foundation devoted to the propagation of free market ideas and based a few minutes' walk from Parliament and Whitehall in Little Smith Street, Westminster.

The Institute's report, published jointly with the National Federation of Self-Employed and Small Businesses, which won the Prime Minister's accolade was an Inspector at the Door, an index of 252 authorisations conferring on public officials power of entry into a citizen's home. It also published the possible Quango, Quango, by Mr Philip Holland, Conservative MP for Carlisle, which stimulated Mrs Thatcher to appoint Sir Leo Plietzky to review the number, tasks and costs of non-departmental public bodies.

Dr Butler (left) and Dr Pirie: Death list of quangos.

Dr Butler (left) and Dr Pirie: Death list of quangos.

Dr Butler (left) and Dr Pirie: Death list of quangos.

Landed at Gleneagles

Every year during August Sotheby's holds an auction at Gleneagles Hotel in Scotland. Included in last year's sale was the carved and painted wooden half-black salmon trophy which sold for £240.

This year's sale will take place on 25th and 26th August and will include works of art of Scottish interest as well as fishing tackle and sporting guns.

If you have some fishing tackle or a gun which you think might be of value we can accept entries until 20th June, 1980.

For further information telephone or write to James Booth (fishing tackle) or David Jeffcoat (guns).

Sotheby's
Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co.,
34-35 New Bond Street,
London W1A 2AA
Telephone: (01) 493 8080 Telegrams: Abinitio, London
Telex: 24454 SPBLONG

Three remanded over death of Mr Niedermayer

Three men appeared before a court in Belfast yesterday in connection with the death seven years ago of Mr Thomas Niedermayer, the German industrialist and diplomat.

Union chief says movement must put house in order

The TUC should have the power to discipline "rogue elephants" unions, a trade union leader said yesterday.

Mr Walter Johnson, Labour MP for Derby, South, and president of the white collar Transport Salaried Staffs' Association, told the union's annual conference in Torquay that the trade union movement should put its house in order if another Labour government was to be elected.

'Too few' women having ante-natal tests

From Arthur Osman
Birmingham
Less than a quarter of women over the age of 40 in the West Midlands who were pregnant the greatest at risk of having handicapped children, had an ante-natal test to help to discover possible abnormalities, it was claimed yesterday.

The West Midlands Regional Health Authority said that the cytogenetics laboratory at East Birmingham Hospital had become one of the foremost departments of its kind in Britain in detecting through ante-natal tests Down's syndrome and spina bifida.

Night owls and early birds compared

By Pearce Wright
Science Editor

Are you an early morning or an evening person? That question has intrigued psychologists for decades. One of the classic old wives' tales maintains that if you are born early in the morning you are an early waker; if late in the day, you are destined to be a night owl.

Experiments by a group of research workers at Loughborough University of Technology have put substance to the concept by measuring how two groups of people between the ages of 18 and 30 differed over the day in sleeping items on a conveyor belt.

As Dr James Horne and his colleagues from Loughborough explain in a paper in the quarterly journal, *Ergonomics*, the type of analysis is a minifield because of the differences of behaviour not just between individuals but also between groups of people.

In those recent tests a number of simple physiological measures were made of the rhythm of changes, or circadian cycle, that occur every 24 hours, controlling patterns of wakefulness and sleep.

Monitoring of body temperature, for example, shows that people classified as evening or E-types, started the day at a lower body temperature than the morning M-types. The temperature of the first group rose more slowly to reach a peak much later in the day than the counterpart M-types.

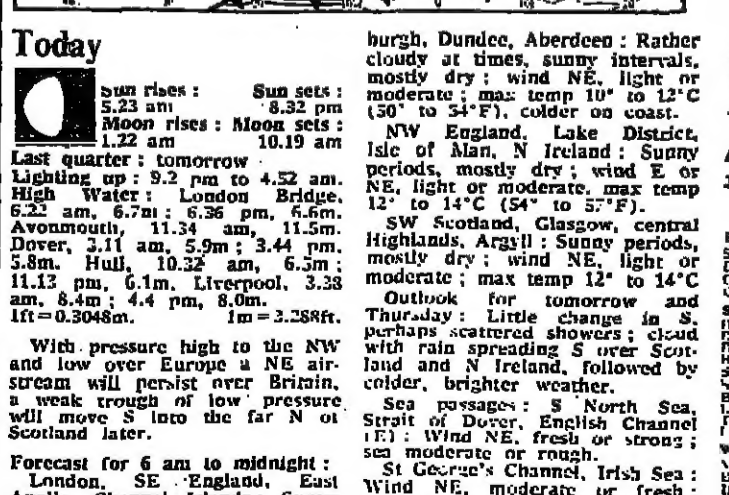
Some earlier, complicated studies have looked for a connection between circadian patterns and intellectual ability by giving people syllogisms to solve and music patterns to learn. The results have been inconclusive.

The recent experiment was a masterpiece of simplicity. The volunteers spent various periods, including a 24-hour period, simulating a production line. The analysis of their success and failure in detecting faulty items, however, involved elaborate statistical calculations made in the university's department of mathematics.

Yet it shows clearly that M-type workers are efficient in the morning and their ability declines in the evening. Conversely the E-types showed a steady improvement throughout the day. Indeed a post-lunch dip in the performance of the M-types was not observed in the E-types.

But that neat division between the two categories came to an untidy conclusion in another way. Although the behaviour of the evening types coincided perfectly across the day with the circadian rhythm, as measured by body temperature, there was a completely ambiguous relationship between behaviour and temperature for the morning types for which no explanation is available.

Weather forecast and recordings



At the resorts

24 hours to 6 pm May 5

Resort	Temp	Wind	Sea	Cloud
Bournemouth	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Brighton	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Cardiff	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Exeter	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Gloucester	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Harrogate	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Leamington	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Llandudno	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Loughborough	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Marazion	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Morecambe	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Oban	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Portsmouth	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Scarborough	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Swansea	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Torquay	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Weymouth	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Widemouth	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15
Woolwich	15.3	10-15	Sun pos	10-15

Overseas sailing prices

Australia \$1.30, Austria \$1.30, Belgium \$1.30, Canada \$1.30, Denmark \$1.30, France \$1.30, Germany \$1.30, Greece \$1.30, Hong Kong \$1.30, India \$1.30, Japan \$1.30, Korea \$1.30, Malaysia \$1.30, Mexico \$1.30, New Zealand \$1.30, Norway \$1.30, Portugal \$1.30, Singapore \$1.30, South Africa \$1.30, Sweden \$1.30, Switzerland \$1.30, Taiwan \$1.30, Thailand \$1.30, Turkey \$1.30, USA \$1.30, USSR \$1.30, West Indies \$1.30, Yugoslavia \$1.30.

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